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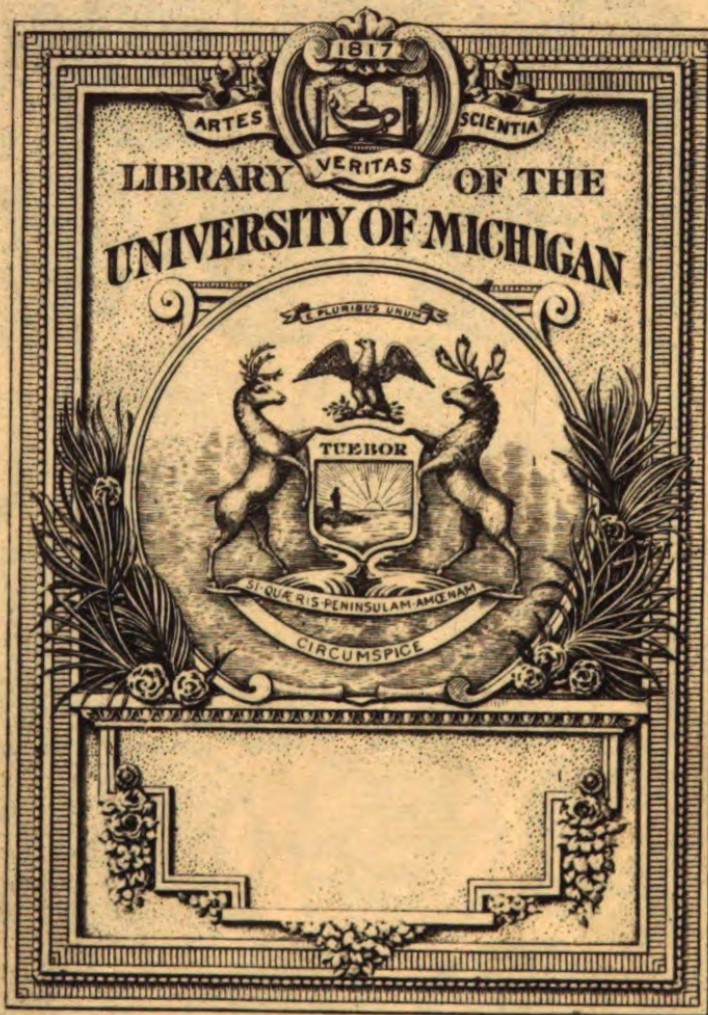
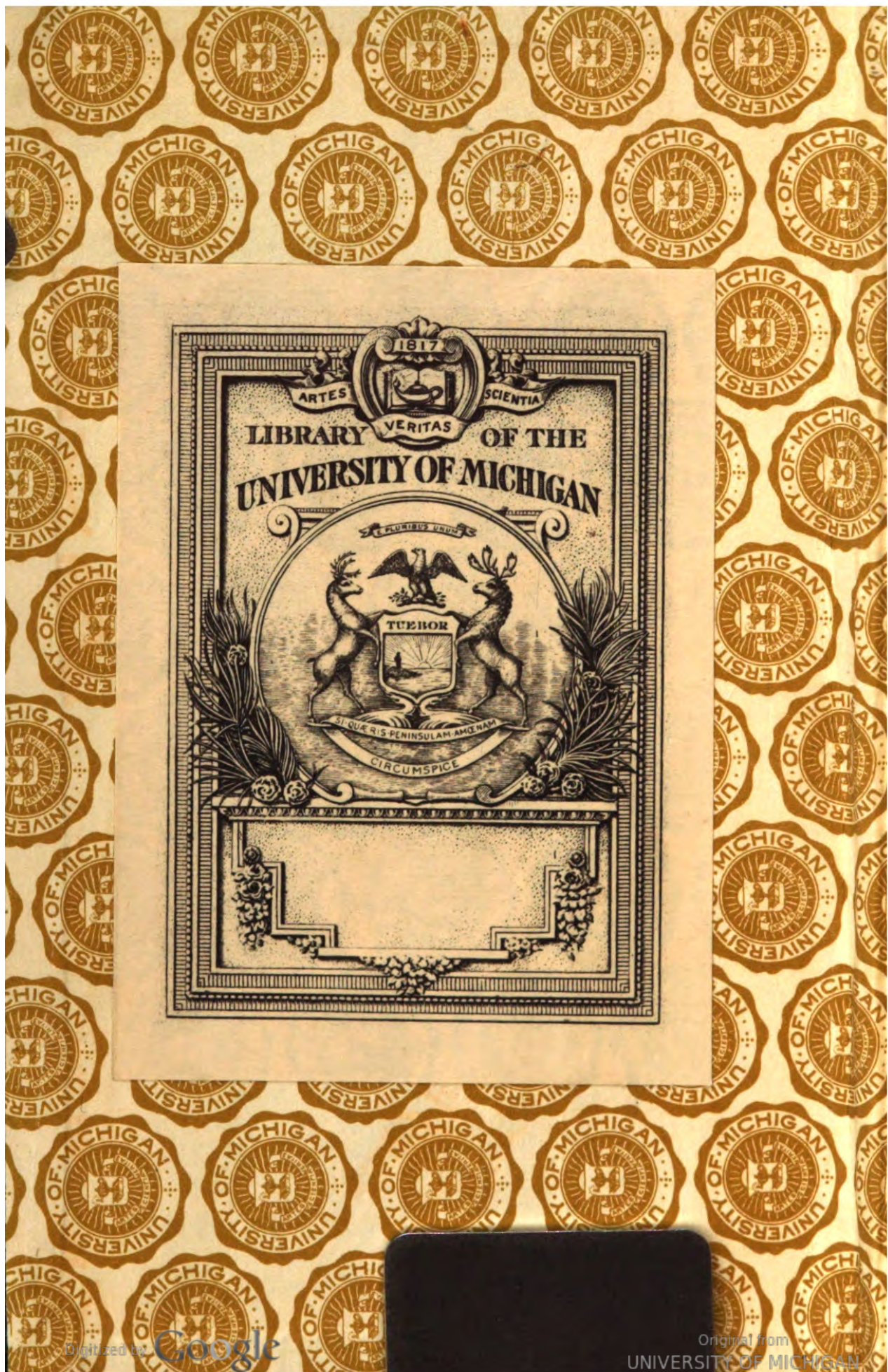
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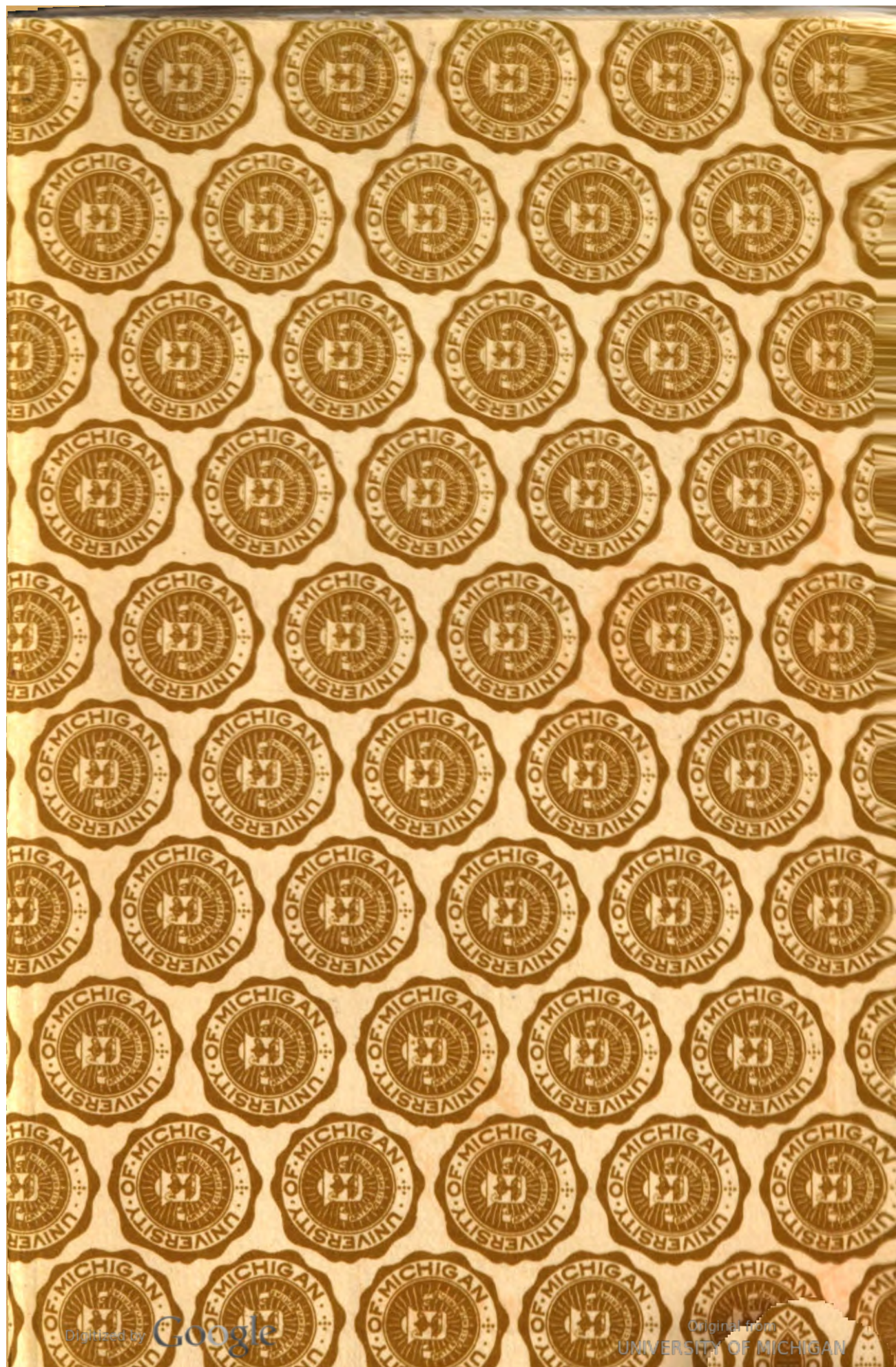
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NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

No. 31



SPANISH ORDERS OF CHIVALRY AND DECORATIONS OF HONOUR

BY
HARROLD E. GILLINGHAM

THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
BROADWAY AT 156TH STREET
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Order of the Golden Fleece



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SPANISH ORDERS OF CHIVALRY AND DECORATIONS OF HONOUR

BY HARROLD E. GILLINGHAM

Of Spain, more than of any other country, is it true that the history of a nation reflects the character of its people. From the very earliest times, religious faith has played a prominent part in the life and in the history of the Spaniards. The oncoming of the Moor left no room for a passive theology—the kings and princes of the Spain of the Middle Ages were literally, and in very truth, “Defenders of the Faith”. In consequence, and because theirs was so essentially a combination of the religious and the military life, it is not surprising to find many of the Orders of Chivalry originating in the Iberian peninsula during this troublesome period. Nor is it other than might have been anticipated that they gradually disappeared with the suppression of the Arab invaders.

To trace the story of these Orders is peculiarly difficult. Even in Spain, where the records may still be in existence, the task would be Herculean. Fortunately, for the purposes of this monograph,

it is superfluous because it has already been very ably and very admirably done in a volume written by Professor Georgiana Goddard King and published by the Hispanic Society of America, entitled "A Brief Account of the Military Orders in Spain". Our concern, herein, is rather with the badges and insignia of these brotherhoods and of those which have followed them, and reference to their history is made only where necessary to make clear facts regarding these emblems.

A further brief word is required regarding our sources. For the earliest orders, the gathering of data and the sifting of conflicting statements regarding origins and reorganizations would be the task of a life-time. The centuries that have elapsed have thrown over such beginnings a veil difficult to penetrate. There is satisfaction, therefore, in finding that the importance of their records was appreciated in the seventeenth century, when the writers were not so removed in point of time from the circumstances which they attempted to fix. Favine in 1620, Ashmole in 1672 and again in 1715, and Giustiniani in 1692, endeavored to gather and sift such material as could be found in their day, and since much of what they wrote is carefully annotated and otherwise bears evidence of careful examination, there is the greater reason for considering it trustworthy. Even then, the writers, again and again, are at a loss. The days

when feudalism flourished were given to fighting for existence rather than in writing of what was done. The gathering under one cover of such information as is available regarding the badges of these Orders and of those of a later day, together with the military medals of award, is the object of this volume.

ORDER OF THE OAK OF NAVARRE. This is the earliest Spanish Military Order known to us. It was founded in 722 A. D. by Don Garcia Ximines, a French prince and Count of Bigorre, born in 688 and crowned on May 3, 716, as King of Navarre. He succeeded in driving the invading Moors from Navarre and parts of Aragon, and won for himself and his descendant kings the title of "Most loyal defenders of the Faith." He died in 758 after a reign of forty-two years, and was buried at the hermitage of Saint John Baptist de la Pegna, near his castle. He created this order in thankfulness for his great victory over the infidels, and pledged its members to the defense of the Christian faith. While marching against the Moors in the year 722, Ximines saw in a vision a red cross adored by angels, at the top of an oak. The badge is in the form of a verdant oak tree, at the top of which appears a plain red cross. The cross is described by Guistiniani, the Italian writer, as a cross flory. Andrew Favine,

the French writer of 1620, gives little credence to the accounts of the establishment of this Order. He states that Garcia Ximines changed the ancient arms of his family and adopted this device.

ORDER OF THE LILY OF NAVARRE. This seems to have been created in 1048 by Garcia VI, King of Navarre (1034-1054) in honour of his recovery from "a languishing sickness". He dedicated it to the Virgin, hence it is sometimes called the "Order of Saint Mary of the Lily". Favine states that effigies of the successors to Garcia, with this order about their necks, may be seen in the churches of St. Mary of Nagera, St. Saviour de Leyra, St. Mary la Reale of Pampeluna, St. John de la Pegna, and at Ronceau. The order disappeared about the middle of the seventeenth century. Giustiniani, Marquez and Perrot give credit for the institution of the order to Sancho IV (1023-1034), and fix the date of its foundation as 1023. They also differ on the form of the badge, a gold collar of two chains, on which the gothic letter M, for Mary, is repeated. From this collar an oval gold medallion with a lily, surmounted by the letter M, crowned, is suspended.

ORDER OF SAINT SAVIOUR, also called the Order of Aragon, and Saint Sauveur de Mon-

tréal. In 1118, Alphonso I, "The Battler", King of Navarre, Aragon, Leon, Castile and Toledo, instituted this order. It consisted of French and Spanish noblemen who had assisted him in his wars. With the conquest of the Moors, the main purpose of the order was achieved; and in the 16th century, its property passed to the Crown. Giustiniani lists the Grand Masters until 1665. Favine says the badge was a red cross, ancrée—sometimes called moline, that is, with the ends divided and turned over.

ORDER OF TRUXILLO. While there appears to have been an order of knighthood in Truxillo (Trugillo) in Spain as early as 1227, little information concerning it is obtainable. In that year, Don Arias Perez Dallego, the Master, took Truxillo from the Moors. Pierre Daviti mentions the existence of this order as early as 1213. Ashmole states "But there is not any Writer that gives an account of what was the *Ensign* or *Badge* of the Order", and Clark holds that they combined with the Order of Alcantara.

ORDER OF THE BAND OR SCARF. Founded in 1332 by Alphonso XI, King of Leon and Castile (1312-1350), in the city of Vittoria. Favine states that it was instituted in the city of Valencia in 1330; Sansovin gives the city as

Burgos, and the year as 1368, while Maigne gives credit to John I and fixes the date as 1390. The order was created as a mark of distinction for those who assisted Alphonso XI in the conquest of the Moors, and only men of noble birth were admitted. The insignia was a red silk band or scarf, worn across the left shoulder and under the right arm. Most of the authorities indicate it as having been shortlived, though Clark states that it was revived in 1700 by Philip V, King of Spain.

ORDER OF THE HOLY SPIRIT (also called Order of the Dove). Founded at Segovia in 1390 by John I, King of Leon and Castile (1358-1390), though Favine makes the date 1379, stating that the order was discontinued on the death of the founder. The badge was a gold collar ornamented with curved and pointed rays of the sun. From this a gold and white enamelled dove with eyes and beak of red, was suspended.

ORDER OF THE LILY OF ARAGON. Ferdinand of Castile (1379-1416) founded this order in 1403. Favine gives the date as 1410, and calls it the Order of the Looking Glass of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Castile. He states that it was transferred to Aragon in 1413 when Ferdinand received that Kingdom, and that it was

continued by the sons of the founder and then abolished. The insignia was a gold collar composed of alternate griffons and pots of flowering lilies. Clark and Giustiniani describe an oval pendant, bearing the image of the Virgin and Child.

ORDER OF OUR LADY OF MERCY. James I of Aragon, having been a prisoner of Simon, Earl of Montfort, in France, where he suffered many hardships, vowed if he escaped, to devote his time and energy toward the release of Christian prisoners in the hands of the Moors. This order seems to have been established about the year 1218, some state on St. Lawrence's Day. In 1261, women were admitted to the order. It was combined with the Order of Montesa in 1317, and these two, later, with the Order of Calatrava. The badge is shield shaped, the lower part bearing red and white enamelled stripes (the arms of Aragon), and the upper part the white cross of the Church of Barcelona, on a red field. The whole is surmounted by a ducal coronet.

ORDER OF THE ROSARY OF TOLEDO. Roderick, the Bishop of Toledo, is the reputed founder of this order, in the year 1212. Its object was providing opposition to the Moors, but like most of these orders it had specified

religious requirements. The badge is given as a silver and black cross flory, on the centre of which is a gold medallion with the figure of the Virgin holding the Child on her right arm, and with a rosary in the left hand.

ORDER OF ESCAMA OR THE SCALE.
In 1420 John II (1406-1454), King of Castile and Leon, founded this order to encourage the nobility to war against the Moors. It was discontinued after the death of the king in 1454. The insignia is a red cross with a surface resembling fish scales, hence the name. Why this device was chosen, the historians fail to divulge.

ORDER OF JESUS CHRIST, or Order of the Militia of St. Dominic. St. Dominic of the Guzman family of Spain founded this order in Languedoc, France, in 1206, to offset the schism of the heretic Albigenses. It was revived in the sixteenth century in Spain under the influence of the Church, and combined with the Papal Order of St. Peter the Martyr. It flourished in Spain for two centuries but is generally conceded to be strictly a religious order. Various names have been assigned, such as The Militia of St. Dominic, Order of the Cross of Jesus Christ, and Order of St. Peter and St. Dominic. The insignia is an oval of gold surmounted by a crown, on the

obverse of which is a cross of four fleur-de-lis joined, each arm being half white and half black. On the reverse is an upright cross, with an olive tree on the left and a sword with point upward on the right. The ribbon is red.

ORDER OF THE BATTLE AXE. Founded in 1149 by Raymond Bérenger, Count of Barcelona, to reward the women of Tortosa who, armed with battle axes, contributed largely to the repulse of an attack of the Moors. Little is known of its existence, and the insignia is given as a red battle axe, which the members wore on their cloaks.

ORDER OF CONCORD. Credit is given to Ferdinand, (1200-1252), King of Castile and Leon, for the foundation of this order, though Maigne gives the date as 1261 but without record of its insignia. Other writers do not mention it.

ORDER OF THE STAR. This is said to have been founded by Alphonso V during his reign from 1416 to 1458. The name is derived from a star worn on the cloak by some of the knights. Little else is known of it.

MILITARY ORDER OF CALATRAVA. Sancho III of Toledo, King of Castile, instituted this order in 1158; it was the first military Order

in that kingdom. The castle of Calatrava had been taken in 714 from Rodrigo, King of the Visigoths by the Moors, who held it for over four hundred years. Don Alphonso I of Aragon, recaptured it in 1147 and gave it to the Knights Templars as a bulwark against the infidels. Eight years later, the gift was returned. Sancho (son of Alphonso) gave it and the task of its defense to Don Raymond, Abbot of the Monastery of St. Mary de Fitero, in Navarre. He, with Don Diego of Velasquez, fortified the castle and settled there with associates from Castile and Toledo. Thus arose the Order of the Knights of Calatrava or Militia of Calatrava. The Order was approved by Pope Alexander III, September 25, 1164. Pope Benedict XIII assigned them a "cross flory" in 1396. The Mastership of this and of the Orders of St. James of the Sword and of Alcantara, according to Ashmole, were perpetually vested in the crown of Castile in 1523 by Pope Adrian VI. There was but one class of members—Chevaliers, who must be of noble birth. In 1219, the Ladies' Order of Calatrava was instituted by Dona Gaze-las Maria Yonnes. The badge is the same as that for the men, a white-enamelled gold-edged diamond on which is a red-enamelled cross fleury, i. e. with fleur-de-lis at the ends; the outer leaves are elongated, to rest upon the arms, and the points turn out. This is surmounted by a trophy

SPANISH DECORATIONS

PL. I



Military Order of Calatrava

of flags and a plumed helmet. The ribbon is bright red watered-silk. Favine says the badge is "*A Red Cross Flouredeluced*".

ORDER OF ALCANTARA. The Order of St. Julian of Pereyro was founded in 1176 by Ferdinand II, King of Leon and Galicia. It derived its name from the town in which their first monastery was built. The badge was a green pear tree sewed to their mantles. After Alphonso IX, King of Leon, had captured the Castilian town of Alcantara from the Moors in 1213, he gave it to Don Martin Fernandez de Quintana, Grand Master of the Order of Calatrava. In 1218, the city of Alcantara was given by the Knights of Calatrava to Don Nunno Fernandez, the third Master of the Order of St. Julian de Pereyro and his fellow knights, who then styled themselves the *Knights of Alcantara*. In accepting the city they became subject to the Order of Calatrava, and changed their cross to what Favine calls "*A Greene crosse Flouredeluced*". This insignia is identical with that of Calatrava, save that the colour is green, as is also the suspension ribbon. This order has but one class—Chevaliers, who must be of the nobility. Pope Adrian VI (1552-1553), granted the revenues of this order as well as those of St. James and Calatrava to the crown of Castile for ever.

SPANISH DECORATIONS

PL. II



Order of Charles III

ORDER OF OUR LADY OF MONTESA, or of St. George. This order was founded in 1316 (or, as some state, in 1317) at Montesa, a city of Valencia, by James II (1291-1327), King of Aragon and Valencia. The knights were subject to the rules of the Order of Calatrava. In 1399, the Order of St. George of Alfama, which had been founded in 1201 at Tortosa, was incorporated into this. Ashmole is the authority for the statement that in 1317 the Order of St. Mary de Merced in Aragon was amalgamated with this Order of Montesa. The badge is diamond-shaped, enamelled yellow, with gold edges and with a plain red-enamelled cross in the center; the whole is surmounted by a trophy of flags and a plumed helmet. The ribbon is bright red watered-silk.

ORDER OF CHARLES III. Sometimes called the Royal and Distinguished Order of Charles III or of the Immaculate Conception. The order was formed by the Sovereign of that name on September 19, 1771, to commemorate the birth of his grandson, Charles Clement. Charles III conferred upon the order the vast estates of the house of Ximenes. The order ranks next to the Golden Fleece in importance, and is awarded for merit and service rendered the State. It is sometimes conferred on foreigners. During the reign of Joseph Bonaparte (1808-1815), with the exception

of the Golden Fleece, this and all other Spanish Orders were abolished. There are five classes—Grand Cross, Commanders of the first and second class, Officers and Chevaliers. The insignia is a ball-tipped Maltese cross of gold, enamelled in light blue with white edges. In the angles are gold fleur-de-lis. It is surmounted by a gold crown for the Grand Cross, and by a gold laurel wreath for the other classes. The collar is of gold, composed of fourteen castles, fourteen lions, seven ciphers of Charles III, and six enamelled trophies. On the obverse oval medallion, edged with blue, is the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception. On the reverse is the cipher of the founder within two laurel wreaths, encircled by a blue band inscribed *VIRTUTI ET MERITO*. The ribbon is light blue with a white band in the centre. The Grand Cross plaque, of faceted silver, is similar in shape to the cross, with gold fleur-de-lis in the angles, and has a centre medallion of the obverse of the cross and the motto *VIRTUTI ET MERITO*. The plaque of the Commanders of the first grade is similar in shape and medallion, but with silver fleur-de-lis, while that for a second grade Commander is of silver but with a centre medallion bearing the cipher of Charles III within a laurel wreath.

ORDER OF THE GOLDEN FLEECE.
 Founded at Bruges on January 10, 1429 (or 1430), by Philip le Bon, Duke of Burgundy, on the occasion of his third marriage, with Isabella, the daughter of John I, King of Portugal. The reign of Philip the Good (1396-1467) was a period of luxury and show, of pageant and display. Bruges, that ancient and attractive city of Flanders, whose exchange is the oldest in Europe, was at that time the seat of the Court of the Dukes of Burgundy. The Letters Patent say the order was dedicated to the Glory of God, the Holy Mother, and to St. Andrew the Apostle. Its object was promoting the Catholic religion and exhorting all men to live virtuously. The Greek fable of the Argonauts under Jason, sailing from Colchis in search of the Golden Fleece, is thought to have led Philip to institute the order, but some believe it was the great revenues he derived from the wool trade of Flanders.

The Order of the Golden Fleece is claimed by Austria as well as by Spain. *Philip the Good*, Duke of Burgundy (1396-1467), married Isabella of Portugal; their son, *Charles the Bold* (1433-1477), left but one child, Mary, who, in 1477, married Maximillian I of Austria, a Hapsburg and Holy Roman Emperor. Their son *Philip* (1478-1506), who married in 1496 the Infanta Joanna of Spain (Joan la Loco, the crazy, the

second daughter of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile), thus became later, Philip I of Castile and Aragon. His son *Charles* (1500-1558) was Charles I of Spain and also Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire. Charles V relinquished the Austrian throne to his brother Ferdinand, having in 1556 assigned the Spanish kingdom and the Netherland provinces to his son *Philip II* of Spain (1527-1598), to whom he gave the Grand Mastership and treasures of the Order of the Golden Fleece. Since that time the Kings of Spain have claimed the order, while the Hapsburgs of Austria claimed the sovereignty under one of its statutes, which says of the Order, "*dont serons nous chef et souverain et après nous nos Successeurs, Ducs de Bourgogne.*" While the territories of the Dukedom of Burgundy went to France, the *title* has been retained by the Hapsburg family without territorial claim. After the death of Charles the Bold in 1477, Philip le Bel, the son of his only child, Mary of Burgundy, wife of Maximillian I of Austria, became the Grand Master of the Order. The sovereignty of the order remained in dispute between the house of Hapsburg and the Kings of Spain, until Charles II died childless in 1702. Philip V of Spain, a Bourbon and the grandson of Louis IV of France, at this time claimed the Grand Mastership of the Order, and after a long dispute the question was

referred to the Congress of Cambrai in 1721, when the Order was recognized both for Spain and Austria and each portion independent of the other. Since the World War, King Albert of Belgium laid claim to the treasures of the order, in the name of the cities of Bruges, Brussels and Ghent, but this was rejected by a committee of three jurists, to whom the question had been referred by the Reparation Commission and which approved the decision of the Committee. The archives and treasures of the Order remain in Vienna, where they had been transferred from Brussels in 1700 by Charles VI, Emperor of Austria, owing to the French wars. The Spanish order is never given to an Austrian nor is the Austrian order awarded to a Spaniard.

The order has always ranked as the most illustrious and distinguished order of Spain; it was the only Spanish order which was not abolished by Joseph Bonaparte in 1808, and was actually confirmed by him in 1809. "The Duke of Wellington was created a grandee of the first class of the Spanish Order of the Golden Fleece, with the title of the Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, and appointed Captain General of the Spanish Armies. His Grace had two badges, one formerly worn by Emperor Charles V, and the other presented to him at Madrid by the Countess de Chincona, a princess of the Royal house of Bourbon, having

been originally the property of the Duc".¹ The insignia of the order is a Golden Fleece suspended at the middle, from a blue-enamelled flint-stone, emitting flames of fire, enamelled red, which in turn is hung from a scroll and medallion. The ribbon is bright red. The grand collar of the order is alternate flint-stones enamelled blue with red flames and double fusils or firesteels interlaced to represent double B's for Burgundy. The insignia of the Keeper of the Rolls (Le Greffier) is an oval medal of gold (55 mm x 45 mm) composed of rays with twelve gold balls on alternate bars; with a white-enamelled oval in the centre, on which is a miniature of the badge, encircled by a red-enamelled band looped at the top. This oval is surrounded by a pointed border of gold, and the decoration is suspended by a bright red ribbon. The insignia of the Austrian order varies at the top and has, on a scroll, the motto *Pretium non vile laborum* (Not a bad reward for labour).

ORDER OF ST. JAMES OF THE SWORD (Santiago di Campostella). In 1175 this order and the rules governing it were sanctioned by a bull of Pope Alexander III. From this document we learn that its organization had taken place in 1170. There is also, however, evidence that this may have been a reorganization, and that the rather uncertain traditions which assign the be-



Order of Saint James of the Sword

ginnings of the Order of Santiago to more than a century before this, have some basis.² Whatever may have been the statutes or the purposes governing the earlier order, after 1170 its knights took a prominent part in repelling the Moor and in upholding the faith. With the passing of the years, and with the repression of the Moors, the wealth of the order increased greatly, as did also the fame and prowess of its members. In these regards it rivalled the other Spanish orders such as that of Alcantara. In 1493, its property was claimed for the Crown by Ferdinand and Isabella. Membership was limited to the nobility, and in 1312 some provision for the admission of noblewomen was made.

The badge of the Order is of enamel, a white oval, edged with gold, on which is a red cross, the arms of which terminate in fleur-de-lis, the upper part of the upright being heart-shaped, the lower shaped like a sword. The oval is surmounted by a gold trophy of flags and plumed helmet, the whole suspended by a bright red ribbon of watered-silk. Portugal has an Order of St. James of the Sword, of which Favine says,³ "This Order St. James was Established likewise in Portugall, "where it attained to many Commanderies, confessing *Ucles* to be Chiefe of the Order: until "the time of the King of *Portugall Dom Denys*,⁴ "who would have a Great Maister and Chiefe



Royal Order of Maria Louisa

“of the Order alone in his owne Kingdome, without any subjection to that of Castile.”

ROYAL ORDER OF MARIA LOUISA. Founded on April 19, 1792, by Charles IV (1748-1819) and named in honour of his Queen, Maria Louisa of Parma. The order has but one class and is conferred by the Queen on ladies only. It is under the patronage of Saint Ferdinand. The insignia is a gold Maltese cross, enamelled white with wide violet edges. Between the angles are the alternate towers and lions of Castile and Aragon, connected by gold chains. A gold laurel-wreath surmounts the cross. The obverse medallion bears the effigy of St. Ferdinand in royal robes, and crowned. The reverse has the cipher of the Queen, M. L. surrounded by the legend *REAL ORDEN DE LA REYNA MARIA LUISA*. The ribbon is violet with a centre band of white.

ROYAL ORDER OF SPAIN. This was established in 1809 by Joseph Bonaparte to reward those who were loyal to the Napoleonic cause. It was abolished in 1814 by Ferdinand VII upon his return to the Spanish throne. There are three grades: Grand Cross, Commanders and Chevaliers. The insignia is a five-pointed red-enamelled star, ball tipped, and edged with gold. On the gold

obverse medallion is the tower of Castile, encircled by a blue band inscribed *JOS. NAPOLEO REX HISP ET IND.* On the reverse medallion is the lion of Aragon within a blue-enamelled band inscribed *VIRTUTE ET FIDE.* The ribbon is bright red. The plaque is an eight-pointed star of faceted silver rays, on which is a five-pointed red-enamelled star, with a gold lion rampant at the centre.

THE RED CROSS. Founded on July 31, 1864, by Royal Decree. It is divided into three classes: the plaque of honour and merit, the medal of gold and the silver medal. The plaque is an eight-pointed silver-faceted star on which is superimposed a white-enamelled gold-edged Maltese cross, with a gold crown above, and gold castles and facing lions' heads in the angles of the cross. In the medallion is the red-enamelled Geneva cross encircled by a black band with gold letters, *OB:CIVES:SERVATOS.* The gold medal is composed of eight-pointed rays of gold surmounted by a gold mural crown. In the centre of the rays is a red cross on a white medallion, encircled by *IN HOC SIGNO SALUS.* This, in turn, is surrounded by a green-enamelled wreath; and under the white centre is a gold shield bearing a white-enamelled Maltese cross. The gold medal is worn suspended from a neck ribbon of white

with a wide red stripe in the centre. The silver medal is round with a mural crown above and partly resting on the medal. In the centre is the red Geneva cross on a white shield, encircled by a green laurel wreath; around this, on a white band, is *IN HOC SIGNO SALUS*, in gold letters. At the lower part and under the shield is a shield of gold bearing a white Maltese cross. This medal is worn, with a white ribbon with wide red stripe in the centre, and suspended from a gold bar-pin.

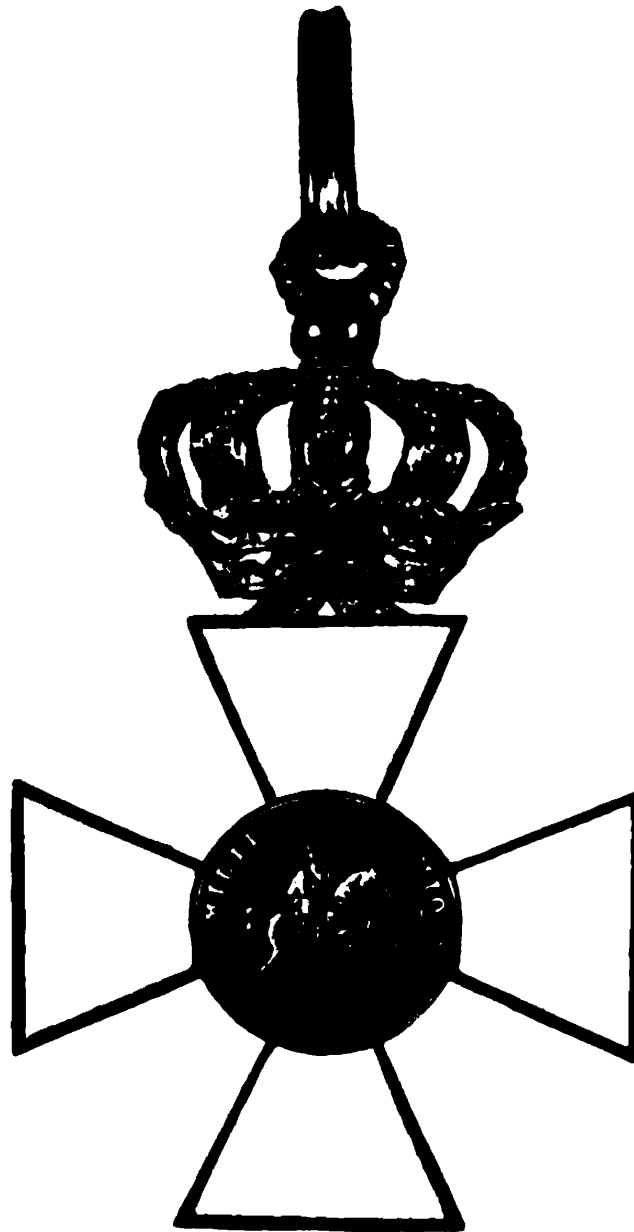
ROYAL AND MILITARY ORDER OF SAINT HERMENEGILDO. Founded on November 28, 1814, by Ferdinand VII. It is awarded to officers of the Army and Navy for long and distinguished service. The Saint for whom the order was so appropriately named was the son of Leovigild, the last of the Visigothic kings holding to Arianism. Hermenegildo, being converted to orthodox Christianity by his Frankish wife, headed an unsuccessful insurrection. When captured, he refused to abjure his faith, and was executed. He was canonized by Sixtus V during the reign of Philip II. There are three classes: Grand Cross, and Knights of the First and Second Classes—awarded according to rank and length of service. The badge is a white-enamelled gold cross, patté, surmounted by a royal crown. On the obverse medallion of blue enamel is a gold figure of



The Red Cross

Hermenégildo on horseback, surrounded by a blue band inscribed *PREMIO A LA CONSTANCIA MILITAR*. On the reverse medallion of gold is F.VII. The ribbon is white with a carmine band in the centre (formerly it was of violet with two white stripes). The plaque is a large Maltese cross, ball-tipped with silver rays in the angles. In the centre is a replica of the above obverse medallion, save that the band with the inscription is enamel, surrounded by a laurel wreath. This order was conferred upon the Duke of Wellington in 1816, by the King of Spain.

ROYAL AND MILITARY ORDER OF SAINT FERDINAND. At a meeting of the Cortes held at Cadiz on January 27, 1811, during the attempt to free Spain from the French domination, it was proposed to institute the *Order of the Sword of Saint Ferdinand*. On August 31 of that year, the *National Order of Saint Ferdinand* was adopted. The name was again changed on August 29, 1814, to the *Military Order of Saint Ferdinand*; and on January 19, 1815, the *Royal and Military Order of Saint Ferdinand* was founded by the King, Ferdinand VII, and dedicated to Ferdinand II (1200-1252), whose body lies buried in the royal chapel of the Cathedral of Seville. The order was reconfirmed by a decree of June 29, 1918, issued by Alphonso XIII. The



Royal and Military Order of Saint Hermenegildo

decoration is awarded for exceptional military or naval service, to officers and enlisted men. There are five classes: the first and lowest consists of a gold Maltese cross, ball-tipped, of white enamel, bearing on the obverse medallion a figure of St. Ferdinand, surrounded by a blue band inscribed *AL MERITO MILITAR*. The reverse has two globes, crowned, surrounded by a blue band inscribed *EL REY Y LA PATRIA*. The various classes of this order are issued in several forms. The lowest, or first class, has the cross superimposed on a laurel wreath and surmounted by a similar wreath for suspension. The second class is without the laurel wreath above, the third class is like the first, and the fourth class has an ornamental leaf design above and is not superimposed on a wreath. The fifth or highest class is a plaque of faceted silver rays forming the cross superimposed on a green laurel wreath, with the figure of St. Ferdinand in the centre, encircled by a band inscribed *AL MERITO MILITAR*. The plaques of the second and fourth classes have four red-enamelled swords, with handles meeting in the centre, the blades forming a cross. There is also a small silver cross for privates, which does not class them as Knights. Another form of this decoration, awarded during the reign of Queen Christina and still given to Generals and other high officers, is styled the Cross of Saint Ferdi-

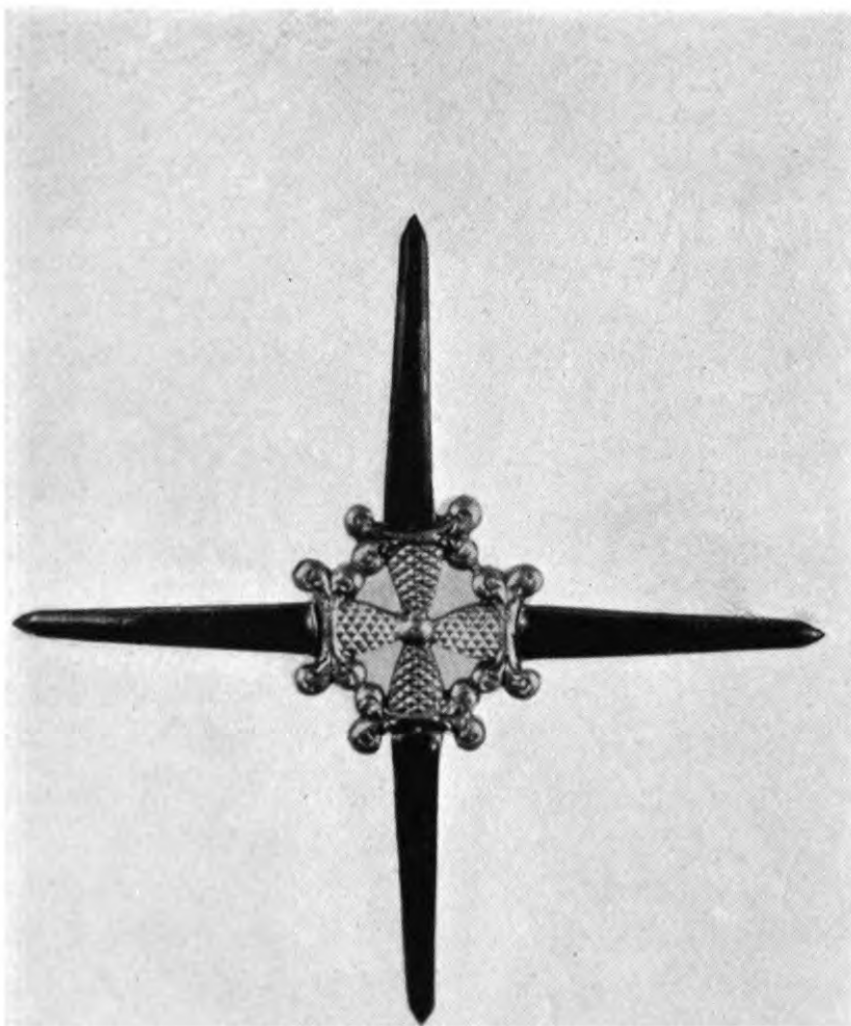


Royal and Military Order of Saint Ferdinand

nand and is composed of four swords with gold handles and red-enamelled blades. The handles meet at the centre with the guards forming a circle, while the blades make the arms of the cross. This is also issued superimposed on a green laurel wreath, but no authority for this variation has been found. The ribbon for this decoration is bright red with a yellow stripe each side.

The highest class decoration of this order was presented to the Duke of Wellington on April 29, 1812, by the Cortes of Spain, and later in that year they bestowed on him the estate of Soto de Roma in Granada, "in the name of the Spanish Nation in testimony of its sincere gratitude". The decoration was also awarded to other British officers who assisted Spain during the Carlist wars.

ORDER OF ISABELLA THE CATHOLIC, often called the Royal American Order of Isabella the Catholic, was founded on March 24, 1815, by Ferdinand VII, as a reward for loyalty either in the kingdom or in the American colonies of Spain. Later it was awarded for merit. It was placed under the patronage of St. Isabella (1451-1504), surnamed *la Catolica*, Queen of Castile and wife of Ferdinand of Aragon. It was during the reign of Isabella the Catholic that Columbus discovered America, and during the reign of Ferdinand VII, the founder of this order, that Florida was sold



Cross of Saint Ferdinand
Reign of Queen Christina

to the United States (1819), and that most of the other American colonies were lost to Spain. One of the objects in establishing this order, apparently, was to reward certain of the American colonial officials and dignitaries.

There are five grades: Grand Cross, Commanders with plaque, Commanders, Chevaliers and Chevaliers of the Silver Cross. The insignia is a red-enamelled Maltese cross, indented at the extremities, with wide-edged gold borders and ball-tipped points, surmounted by a green laurel wreath, and with gold rays in the angles. On the obverse medallion are the pillars of Hercules ⁵ inscribed *PLUS ULTRA*, and two blue globes crowned, surrounded by a white band inscribed *A LA LEALTAD ACRISOLADA*.

On the reverse medallion is *FR 7* crowned, within a white band inscribed *POR ISABEL LA CATOLICA*. The cross of the fifth class is all silver and with no rays in the angles and no enamel. The plaque of the first class is similar to the obverse of the cross, minus the laurel wreath, with gold rays in the angles and with both the above mottoes on the encircling band. The plaque of the second class is smaller and has the cipher of the reigning monarch in the centre. The ribbon is white with broad yellow lateral stripes.

Some authorities state that a silver medal of the order was given to a number of the American



Order of Isabella the Catholic

Indian subjects, though this is not confirmed. A sixth class was instituted in April, 1907, by Alphonso XIII, consisting of silver and bronze medals, 32 mm. in diameter, bearing on the obverse a replica of the cross without the rays, and on the reverse the crowned monogram of Ferdinand VII.

To judge from the varieties of this decoration, they were very generously bestowed and not very highly valued.

ORDER OF MARIA ISABELLA LOUISA or ISABELLA II. Founded on June 19, 1833, by Ferdinand VII, in honour of his daughter by his fourth wife, Maria Christina of Naples. Its purpose was to reward men of the Army and Navy who were loyal to the Infanta, the presumptive heiress. As Ferdinand had no sons, he abolished the Salic law in Spain about 1830, and at his death in 1833, Maria Isabella Louisa was proclaimed Queen. The Carlist war resulted. For officers, the decoration is a white-enamelled cross moline, with a gold crown above. On the obverse medallion, in a red-enamelled field, is a gold bust of the Queen encircled by a blue band inscribed *ISABEL II REINA DE ESPANA*. On the reverse, in a red field is *M. I. L.* encircled by a blue band inscribed *AL VALORE MILITAR*. The cross for non-commissioned officers is of silver,

bearing on the obverse an oval medallion with the initials *M. I. L.* The reverse is plain and the ribbon is light blue. After 1839, the decoration was awarded for service in the Army or Navy of ten years or over. Many of these decorations were awarded to the detachment of Royal Artillery and Marines, who formed part of the British volunteer forces under General Sir De Lacy Evans K.C.B., who in 1835 was sent in command of the "Spanish Legion" of ten thousand troops, to aid the Queen against Don Carlos. Evans remained two years and gained several brilliant victories. The cross in silver was also given to the British men for service at San Sebastian on May 5, 1836, and at Bilbao on December 24, 1836.

ORDER OF MILITARY MERIT. Maria Isabelle Louisa (Isabelle II) was dethroned in 1868 as a result of the Civil War. The attempt of the Carlists to secure the throne was a continuous source of trouble during her reign of thirty-five years. In order to reward her adherents, Isabella founded this order on August 3, 1864, for the military and civilians and for deeds not of sufficient importance to warrant the conferring of higher orders. It was reconfirmed on December 30, 1889, and is now awarded for individual merit in military operations to officers and soldiers and also to civilians.



Order of Maria Isabella Louisa

The decoration is a plain gold-edged, red-enamelled cross surmounted by a royal crown, the upper arm of which is partly plain. In this plain space is engraved the action and date for which the award is made. The circular medallion bears the Arms of Spain with a Bourbon shield in the centre. The reverse medallion bears the initials of the founder, Y 2, and sometimes those of the reigning sovereign. When awarded to pensioners and for services not in actual combat, the cross is red with a white band on each cross-arm. The ribbon is red with a white stripe in the centre when awarded for war service. For the troops, the cross is all silver with no enamel and the ribbon is white with a red centre.

The plaque is an eight-pointed star of faceted rays on which is a duplication of the obverse of the cross with fleurs-de-lis in the angles and a crown *on* the upper cross-arm instead of surmounting it.

ORDER OF NAVAL MERIT. This was founded August 3, 1866, for the men of the Navy under conditions similar to those of the Order of Military Merit. The decoration is similar, except that the lower cross arm is longer, and in place of the medallion a gold anchor is superimposed. The ribbon is red with a broad yellow stripe in the centre. The cross for Pensioners has a white



Order of Military Merit

stripe on each of the arms and the ribbon is white with a blue stripe in the centre.

Another cross of Merit for the Navy was founded September 22, 1816, to be given to those who took part in the War of Independence of 1808, and a description will be found under the decorations for that period.

ORDER OF CIVIL MERIT. This resembles the cross of Military Merit, except that the enamel is white and the ribbon is white with a red stripe in the centre.

ORDER OF AGRICULTURAL MERIT. This was founded on December 1, 1905, by Alphonso XIII, for those eminent in agriculture. There are three grades: gold with a green ribbon, silver with a green and silver ribbon, and copper with a green knot of ribbon, according to the nature of the award. The decoration is a white-enamelled Maltese cross, double-pointed and ball-tipped, in the centre of which is a medallion with the symbols of agriculture. On the reverse is engraved the name of the recipient, the date and cause of award.

ORDER OF BENEFICENCIA. Founded on May 17, 1856, by Isabella II (1830-1904), daughter of Ferdinand VII, in recognition of humane



Order of Beneficencia

and charitable work. Some authorities give Ferdinand VII credit for its recreation in 1820 at the time of the cholera epidemic in Manila, but that decoration differs materially (See page 88). There are three grades for the Order of Charity: Grand Cross, Commanders and Chevaliers, and these are awarded both to men and to women. The decoration is a six-pointed, ball-tipped star, enamelled white with black edges; gold rays are in the angles, and the whole is surmounted by a palm wreath. In the centre red medallion is a gold figure of Charity with children, surrounded by a band, on which is inscribed *A LA CARIDAD*. The medallion on the reverse has in the centre the cipher of the founder *Y 2* surrounded by the words *BENEFICENCIA PUBLICA*. The ribbon is white with a black band on each side. The plaque of the first class consists of the six-pointed star as above described, superimposed on a gold laurel wreath and rays of faceted silver.

CIVIL ORDER OF ALPHONSO XII. This order was founded on May 23, 1902, by King Alphonso XIII in honour of his father who died in 1885. Alphonso XIII (Leon-Ferdinand-Marie-Jacques-Isidore-Paschal-Antoine) the posthumous son of Alphonso XII and Marie Christine (Arch-Duchess of Austria), was born in Madrid on May 17, 1886, and proclaimed King of Spain on the



Civil Order of Alphonso XII

day of his birth. His mother ruled as Regent during his minority, and he is the only surviving ruler of that once powerful Bourbon family from which so many European kings have sprung, and who have held such power in the politics of the continent.

The order is bestowed for literary and artistic merit and is composed of three classes: Grand Cross, Commanders and Chevaliers. The badge is composed of rays of violet enamel, on which is a radiant disc representing the sun. Superimposed thereon and within a gold palm and green laurel wreath, is an eagle with spread wings. Above the eagle is *A XII*, crowned—below, *ALTIORA-PETO* and a shield bearing the Arms of Spain. The ribbon is violet. The plaque is similar to the badge but larger, and the Commanders wear a large violet silk button on their ribbon.

ROYAL ORDER OF MARIA CHRISTINA. Founded by Alphonso XIII on July 19, 1889, for the Army, and in January of the following year for the Navy. It was discontinued on June 19, 1918, but reinstated March 16, 1925. It is to reward distinguished individual merit, and when given to Generals or Colonels is all gold; for Majors and Lieutenant-Colonels, it is of silver and gold, and for junior officers and enlisted men, it is of bronze and gold. The decoration is a

plaque of faceted rays on which is superimposed a cross with laurel wreath entwined and four swords with hilts outward. The arms of the cross have curved ends and bear on the upper arm a gold crown; on the others, a gold fleur-de-lis. In the centre are the Arms of Spain in colour, surrounded by a blue band inscribed *AL MERITO EN CAMPANA*. The cross is similar to the plaque but smaller, and the ribbon is red and yellow with a white stripe on each side, and carmine edges.

In addition to the foregoing, there were many other decorations established and bestowed upon the Army, Navy and civilians for their efforts to support the throne of Spain. These are given below in order of the events. It will be noticed that many of them were not founded until long after the occurrences for which they were bestowed. In probably no other country have there been so many decorations given for military service and of so great a variety. It seems as if the designers of these have vied with each other in making each new decoration entirely different from its predecessor.

CROSS FOR SAPPERS AT ALCALA DE HENARES, 1808. Founded on October 1, 1817, and awarded to the two Companies of Sappers and Engineers under General Legues, who, at the beginning of the French invasion after the events at Madrid in 1808, refused to serve under the French, and assisted in saving the flags, the military stores and arms of the first division, and in escaping from Alcalá de Henares on May 2, 1808, and fleeing to Sierra de Cuenca.

The decoration is a gold cross ball-tipped and enamelled red, with blue triangles of enamel at the ends of the cross arms, and the whole surmounted by a royal crown. A white medallion in the centre bears six mountain peaks, from one of which flies a white flag bearing the letters *Z. M. P.*, the initials of *Zapadores* (sappers), *Minadores* (miners) and *Pontoneros* (pontoon men). This is encircled by a white band inscribed *MI LEALTAD Y VALOR TE CONSERVARON*. On the blue reverse medallion is *SALIDO DE LOS ZAPADORES MAYO DE 1808*. The ribbon is bright red.

CROSS FOR VALENÇAY 1808. When Ferdinand VII was sent to Valençay (Indre) by the French in May, 1808, he was accompanied by a number of faithful adherents. He remained in the home of Talleyrand for five years, returning to Spain in March of 1814, when Napoleon's Empire was tottering. On August 23rd of that year, he instituted this decoration for those who had gone with him into exile. It is a blue-enamelled Greek cross surmounted by a gold crown. On the ends of the cross and in the angles are gold flames, and on the blue-enamelled medallion is a gold head of the founder surrounded by a white band inscribed *FER NAN DO 7^o 1814*. The reverse medallion of light blue has in the centre a dog, of



Sappers at Alcala
Alcolea

St. George
Bailen

gold, beneath which is *FIDES*, surrounded by two chains and *VALENÇAY 1808*. The ribbon is violet.

CROSS FOR ADHERENTS OF THE KING. The Spanish subjects who by their loyalty to the king, incurred the displeasure of Don Manuel Godoy, the Prince of Peace, were interned by him in the Chateau of St. Laurenzo. To honour these loyal subjects, Ferdinand VII founded this decoration on December 5, 1814. It is a white-enamelled cross moline with gilt balls in the angles, and surmounted by a green laurel wreath. On the blue medallion encircled by a red band is a golden grid and a palm. The reverse medallion of blue is inscribed *POR EL REY / PREMIO / A LA INO / CENCIA*. The ribbon is bright red.

MEDAL OF SUFFERING FOR THE COUNTRY. Ferdinand VII created this by Royal Decree on November 6, 1814, as a reward to those who were taken prisoner by the French during the war for Independence. By a later Decree of November 5, 1900, it was awarded to all who were captured during the Cuban and Philippine war, and by a Decree of July 7, 1921, for those wounded in the service or captured in meritorious action.

It is issued in gold for officers and cadets, in silver for others, and is 32 mm. in diameter. In the centre is a castle tower surrounded by the inscription *SUFRIMIENTO POR LA PATRIA*, around which is a chain within two narrow lines; the whole being encircled with a laurel wreath which forms the edge of the medal. The ribbon is yellow, with narrow green stripes at each side, for those captured; and for the wounded, a red cross is embroidered on the ribbon.

CROSS FOR CIVILIANS IN FRANCE. Founded on June 14, 1815, by Ferdinand VII, and awarded to those who were transported to France on account of their opinions and who refused to recognize the Bonaparte rule. The decoration is a red-enamelled Maltese cross edged with gold and surmounted by a gold laurel wreath; on the blue medallion is an effigy of the king in gold, encircled by a white band inscribed *OB EXILIUM PRO REGE ET PATRIA*; and on the reverse is the name of the king, *FERNANDO VII*. The ribbon is of green with a white stripe on each side.

MEDAL FOR VICTIMS OF MAY 2, 1808. The widows, children and near relatives of the victims of the tumult in Madrid on May 2, 1808, when the French first invaded Spain, were awarded this decoration by Ferdinand VII by a

Decree of October 27, 1815. It is an oval silver medal bearing on the obverse branches of palm and laurel, in letters of black, *Fº VII A LAS VICTIMAS DEL 2 DE MAYO*. Above the inscription is a small wreath. On the reverse is *PRO / PATRIA MORI / AETERNUM / VIVERE*. The ribbon is black moiré silk.

CROSS OF ST. GEORGE FOR JUNTA OF CATALONIA. Instituted on January 15, 1810, by the Supreme Junta and confirmed by Ferdinand VII on March 12, 1815, to reward the members of the Junta of Catalonia for their zeal and patriotism at the beginning of the French invasion of 1808. It is a gold Maltese cross with a red-enamelled Greek cross in the centre, surrounded by a green laurel wreath, and surmounted by a knot of gold ribbon, a fleur-de-lis and a scroll. The reverse is plain; the ribbon is red.

CROSS FOR CABINET COURIERS. These necessary and valuable officials were awarded this decoration for service rendered during the War of Independence. It was instituted on July 9, 1815, by Ferdinand VII. It is a cross, the arms of which are formed by four gold fleur-de-lis. These are connected by a green laurel wreath and the whole is surmounted by a gold crown. In the centre is a large red medallion on which is an

effigy of the King, surrounded by a white band inscribed *VALOR Y CONSTANCIA POR SU REY Y PATRIA*. On the white reverse medallion is *LOS CORREOS DE CABINETTE*. The ribbon is green with a red stripe in the centre.

CROSS FOR ALCOLEA 1808. On the morning of June 7, 1808, the Spanish troops under Echevaria defended the bridge across the Guadalquivir at the village of Alcolea (in Andalusia) to resist the invasion of their country. The French troops under General Dupont outclassed the natives, who retired defeated. On June 3, 1815, the cross was authorized by Ferdinand VII. It was of gold for the officers, and of silver for the privates who had distinguished themselves in this engagement. It consists of two crossed logs in the form of a St. Andrews Cross, enamelled red, surmounted by laurel and palm branches tied with a ribbon, and with a tassel below. On the obverse medallion of white is a triple-arched bridge, around which in gold letters is *LA BATALLA DE ALCOLEA*. The reverse medallion is inscribed *LIBERTAD DE ESPANA 7 DE JUNIO 1808*. The ribbon is green.

MEDAL FOR BAILEN 1808. Created on August 11, 1808, by the Junta of Seville in the name of the King (Ferdinand VII), and awarded

to the Andalusian army, under General Castaños who defeated the French Army of 20,000, under General Dupont, and compelled their surrender on July 19, 1808, at Bailen, a small town commanding the passes of the Sierra Morena. Dupont was on his way to Cadiz and was hampered at every turn by the Spaniards who bitterly resented the Napoleonic domination. This was after the Little Corsican had placed his brother Joseph on the throne and incarcerated Ferdinand at Valençay (Indre).

The decoration is an oval gilt medal, having in the centre two crossed swords tied with a ribbon, from which hangs an inverted eagle. In the upper part of the field is a laurel wreath and a scroll which bears the legend *BAILEN 19 DE JULIO 1808*. The ribbon is red with a yellow stripe in the centre.

CROSS FOR SARAGOSSA 1808-1809. Ferdinand VII authorized this cross on August 30, 1814, for those who had distinguished themselves in the defense of Saragossa in Aragon from June 16 to August 14, 1808, when the Spaniards under Don Jose De Palafox and Calvo di Rozas, defeated the French troops under Marshal Lefebvre, who was compelled to retreat to Pampeluna. When the French again attacked the city in December, 1808, the Spanish were compelled to sur-



Saragossa
Menjibar

Lerin
Bubierca

render on February 20, 1809, after having lost nearly 60,000 men. The Maltese cross, of gold for officers and of bronze for the soldiers, is red enamelled with broad ends surmounted by a mural crown, and bears on an oval white medallion, within a laurel wreath, a figure of St. Mary on a pedestal. On the blue reverse medallion is *EL REY A LS. DEF DE ZAR* (The king to the defenders of Saragossa). The ribbon is yellow with four narrow red stripes. Don José Velasco Dueñas, writing in 1843, says the cross for the first siege of the city in 1808 was founded March 25, 1817, and that it is white-enamelled and surmounted by a laurel wreath, with a red medallion on the obverse. The cross for those who took part in both sieges was enamelled half red and half white, with a royal crown surmounting it and with fleurs-de-lis in the angles; on the upper cross arm is a mural crown and on the lower a laurel wreath. Both medallions are blue, and the motto is *EL REY A LOS DEFENSORES DE ZARAGOSA EN SU 1º Y 2º SITIOS*. The ribbon is light blue with two narrow stripes of red and two of yellow on either side.

CROSS FOR LERIN. Founded on July 23, 1811, by the Council of the Regency and awarded to the Cadiz Rifle Battalion who defended the town of Lerin on October 25, 26 and 27, 1808.

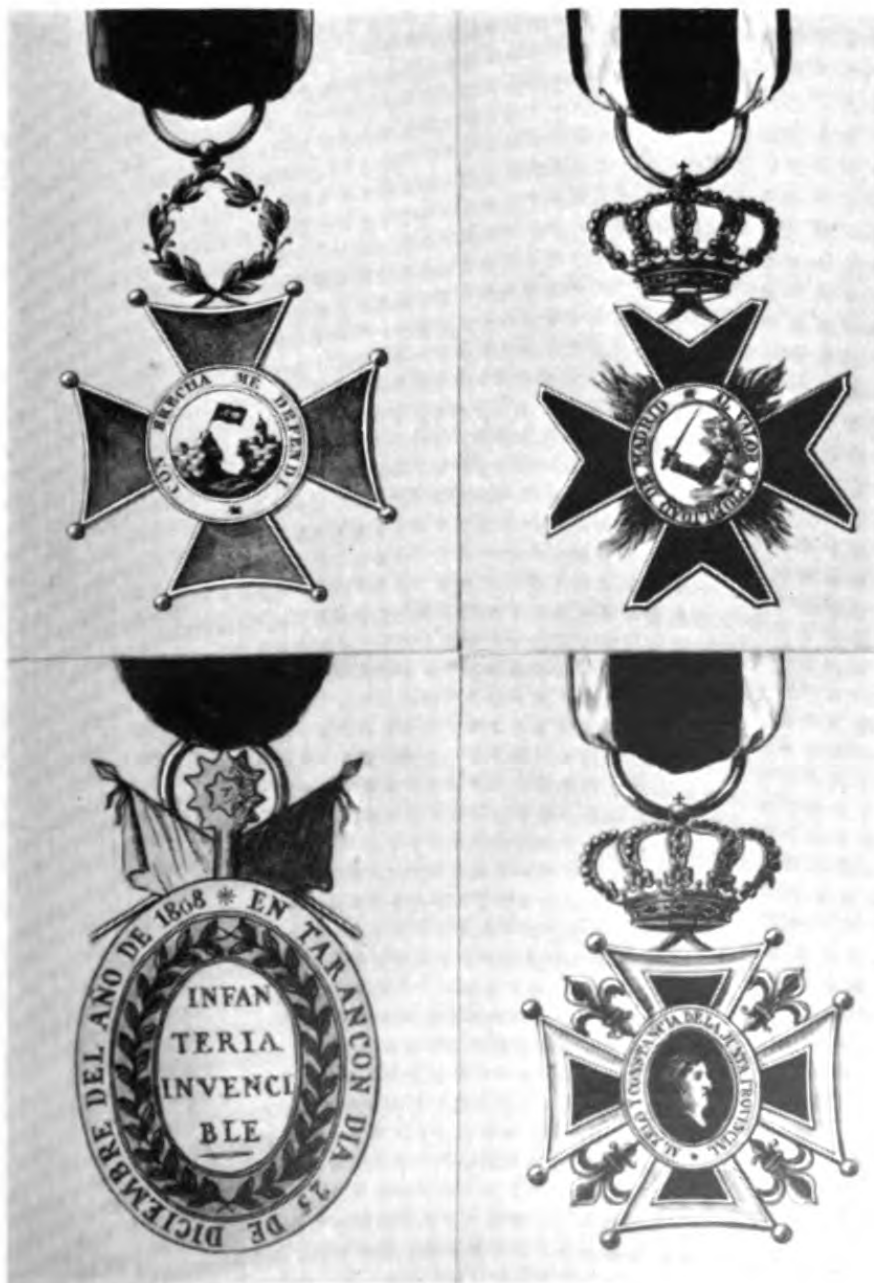
The decoration is a white-enamelled Maltese cross surmounted by a gold laurel wreath and with gold fleur-de-lis in the angles. The obverse green medallion bears the figure of a lion resting its paw on two globes, with the word *LERIN* below. The reverse medallion, also of green has *LERIN* 25 26 27 *OBRE* 1808. The ribbon is green watered-silk. The officers were awarded this cross, and the privates received a bronze medal.

CROSS FOR MENJIBAR, JULY 16, 1808. Created on April 18, 1816, by the King, for the troops of the Andalusian army under General Theodore Reding, who defended the ferry at Menjibar on that date. The decoration is a red-enamelled cross, superimposed on a white cross with gold balls at the extremities of the arms; fleurs-de-lis are in the angles and the whole is surrounded by a green laurel wreath. The obverse medallion of blue has in the centre a morion, a cuirass, and crossed behind them a sword and lance. The reverse of blue is inscribed *F. VII* surrounded by *MENJIBAR 16 DE JULIO 1808*. The ribbon is blue with a red stripe each side. Another cross is described by an Italian authority as having on the reverse, *MENJIBAR 16 DE OC., 1808* for a battle which occurred on that date.

CROSS FOR PORTUGAL 1808. Founded on June 22, 1815, by Ferdinand VII, for the Spanish troops, who, in 1808, forsook the French army at Guya, in Portugal, on the outbreak of the War of Independence, and joined the forces fighting for their King. The decoration is a white-enamelled, ball-tipped cross surmounted by a trophy of arms, and with fleurs-de-lis in the angles. The obverse medallion of blue is *PRO FERNANDO VII*. The reverse centre has *PORTUGAL AÑO DE 1808*. The ribbon is white with blue edges.

CROSS FOR BUBIERCA 1808. Founded on May 30, 1816, by Ferdinand VII, for the troops engaged in the affair at Bubierca on November 29, 1808. It is a gold cross, *saltier*, with the arms of white enamel divided in the manner styled *moline*. The whole is suspended from the crown between the upper arms. On a gold centre medallion is *POR F. VII*, encircled by a white band inscribed *EN BUBIERCA 29 DE NOVIEMBRE 1808*. The ribbon is yellow.

CROSS FOR ROSAS 1808. Founded on May 2, 1821, by Ferdinand VII, for those who took part in the defense of Rosas and the castle of Trinidad, on November 7, 12 and 23, 1808. It is a ball-tipped cross, enamelled rose-colour and surmounted by a green laurel wreath. On the white



Rosas
Tarancon

Madrid 1808
Provincial Junta

obverse medallion is a picture of the breach in the wall of the fortress of Rosas, above which is a Spanish flag. The whole is encircled by a band inscribed *CON BRECHA ME DEFENDI*. On the reverse medallion of blue, are three red roses surrounded by a white band inscribed *A LOS DEFENSORES DE ROSAS POR FERNANDO VII*. The ribbon is dark green edged with rose.

CROSS FOR MADRID 1808. To the inhabitants of the capital city, who valiantly resisted the entrance of the French on December 1, 2 and 3, 1808, Ferdinand awarded this cross on May 13, 1817. It is a green-enamelled Maltese cross with flames in the angles, and surmounted by a gold crown. On the oval medallion is a mailed right arm holding an upright sword, encircled by a white band on which is inscribed *AL VALOR Y FIDELIDAD DE MADRID*. The reverse medallion has the arms of Madrid encircled by a white band inscribed *EN LOS TRES PRIMEROS DIAS DE DICIEMBRE DE 1808*. The ribbon is bright red with a white stripe each side.

CROSS FOR ASTURIAN ARMY 1808. On June 4, 1815, the King authorized this insignia for the Army Corps which defended Asturia

against Marshal Ney and Generals Kellerman and Bonnet. It is a white-enamelled cross with a red triangle terminating each of the arms. The whole is surmounted by a green wreath of oak and laurel. The blue medallion has a white cross (the Arms of Asturia) in the centre, encircled by a white band inscribed *ASTURIAS NUNCA VENCIDA*. On the reverse of white is *EXERCITO ASTURIANO 1808*. The ribbon is half red and half yellow.

MEDAL FOR TARANCON 1808. Awarded for the army commanded by General Don Francisco Xavier de Venegas for the engagement of Tarancon in New Castile, on December 25, 1808. It was founded on June 12, 1815, by Ferdinand VII. The decoration is an oval surmounted by two crossed flags and a gold mace. In the white centre is *INFAN / TERIA / INVENCIBLE*. This is encircled by a green laurel wreath, and again by a band inscribed *EN TARANCON DIA 25 DE DICIEMBRE DEL AÑO DE 1808*. The ribbon is red. This medal was awarded in gold to the officers, in silver to the junior officers and in bronze to the privates.

CROSS FOR THE NAVY 1808. Founded on September 22, 1816, and awarded to the men of the Royal Navy who took part in the War of

Independence of 1808. The decoration is of gold for the officers and of silver for the sailors. It is a white-enamelled, ball-tipped, cross, surmounted by a wreath and superimposed on a blue-enamelled anchor. The oval medallion of red bears a gold bust of the King while the obverse bears the cipher *F VII* surrounded by *AL VALOR DE LOS MARINOS*. The ribbon is red with a yellow stripe in the centre.

CROSS FOR PROVINCIAL JUNTA 1808. Founded on November 2, 1818, and awarded to the members of the various Provincial Juntas for their services to the kingdom during the French invasion of 1808. It is a cross, ball-tipped, with golden fleur-de-lis in the angles, and surmounted by a royal crown. The arms of the cross are of purple enamel, rimmed with white and edged with gold. On the obverse oval blue medallion is a gold bust of the King, encircled by a white band inscribed *AL ZELO Y CONSTANCIA DE LA JUNTA PROVINCIAL*. The reverse medallion bears the arms of the province, varying with each Junta. The ribbon is of five equal stripes, one of black in the centre, two of red adjacent, and white at the edges.

BRACELET FOR THE WOMEN OF THE CADIZ JUNTA 1808. Founded on July 27, 1815,

and awarded to women for loyalty or distinguished service during the trying years of 1808-1809 of the French invasion. It is a gold oval, to be attached to a bracelet. On a blue field is a crowned mantle, within which is the King's cipher *F VII*. On an encircling white band is *A LA JUNTA PATRIOTICA DE SEÑORAS DE CADIZ*.

NORTHERN CAMPAIGN OF 1809. The Council of the Regency founded this cross on March 23, 1809, for the troops under General La Romana, in the campaign of the North in 1809. The decoration is a white-enamelled star of seven points, with gold fleurs-de-lis in the angles, and surmounted by a green laurel wreath. In the blue centre is *LA PATRIA ES MI NORTE* (My country is my guide). The ribbon is red with black stripes at the sides.

DEFENCE OF GERONA 1809. Founded on September 14, 1810, by the Council of the Regency for those taking part in the defence of Gerona in Catalonia. The decoration is a red-enamelled Maltese cross, with ball tips, surmounted by a green laurel wreath. In the angles are gold castles. On the obverse oval medallion is a gold figure of St. Narcisse (the emblem of the city) surrounded by a gold band inscribed *SITIO DE GERONA 1809*. On the white reverse is *LA*

PATRIA AL VALOR Y CONSTANCIA. The ribbon is red.

ORDER OF CASTELLO DE AMPURIAS 1809. This Order was founded on March 25, 1817, by Ferdinand VII, for the Second Army of Catalonia, commanded by General Lazan. It is a blue-enamelled Maltese cross edged with gold and surmounted by a green laurel wreath. The obverse medallion of red had two crossed swords encircled by a white band inscribed *CASTELLO DE AMPURIAS*. On the white reverse medallion is *2 DE ENERO DE 1809*. The ribbon is dark blue.

CROSS FOR VALLS IN CATALONIA 1809. This award was made for the battle of Valls which took place on February 25, 1809, and was authorized by Ferdinand VII on April 27, 1815. It consists of a Maltese cross enamelled red, with white edges, and ball-tipped points. The arms of the cross are connected by a laurel wreath, and the whole is surmounted by a similar wreath. The obverse medallion bears the Arms of Catalonia (five white and four red bars) encircled by a white band inscribed *EL REY AL VALOR ESFORZADO*. The reverse, of red, has in the centre *VALLS*, surrounded by a yellow band inscribed *A 25 FEBRERO DE 1809*. The ribbon

SPANISH DECORATIONS

PL. XVII



Valls
Alcaniz

Mora and Consuegra
Talavera

is white with four narrow red stripes, the colours of Valls.

CROSS FOR MORA AND CONSUEGRA
1809. Instituted March 27, 1817, by Ferdinand VII, for the troops engaged in the actions of Mora and Consuegra on February 18 and 22, 1809. The decoration is a gold white-enamelled Greek cross with gold balls at the extremities of the arms and surmounted by a trophy of arms with flaming grenades of blue in the angles. On the obverse centre are the initials *M* and *C* (Mora and Consuegra), and on the reverse is *A*, for the Duke of Albuquerque, who commanded the troops. The ribbon is plain white.

CROSS FOR LUGO or OF VILLAFRANCA
1809. Founded on March 13, 1817, by Ferdinand VII, for the Galician army under General Nicholas Mahy, for the engagements of May 18 and 19, 1809, near Lugo, and for the recapture of Villafranca del Bierzo in Leon, in March, 1809. It was of gold for officers, bronze for privates, and is a white-enamelled Greek cross surmounted by a crown, and with fleur-de-lis in the angles. The arms of the cross are inscribed *BATALLAS DE LUGO / DEL 18 Y 19 / DE MAYO / DE 1809*. On the obverse medallion of gold is the Arms of Lugo—a gold chalice with the Host,

and on the reverse medallion is the Arms of Villafrañca—a crowned lion, facing right. The reverse of the cross arms is inscribed *TOMA DE VILLAFRANCA DE VIERZO EL DIA 19 DE MARZO DE 1809*. The ribbon is white with green edges.

CROSS FOR ALCANIZ 1809. Founded on May 14, 1815, by Ferdinand VII, for the troops of the army of Aragon, who, under command of Don Joachim Blake, were engaged on May 23, 1809, in the battle of Alcaniz in Teruel against Marshall Suchet, commanding the French. The decoration is an elongated four-pointed star, enamelled red, with ball tips, and surmounted by a green laurel wreath and with flames in the angles. On the white obverse medallion is *F VII*, surrounded by a gold band inscribed *AL / CA / NIZ*. The reverse is plain. The ribbon is red.

CROSS FOR TALAVERA 1809. Founded by the Council of the Regency on December 8, 1810, for the officers who took part in the battle of Talavera in Toledo on July 27, 28, 1809. It is a white-enamelled, ball-tipped, Maltese cross, surmounted by a gold crown; on the upper arm is *TALA / VERA*; across the centre is *28 DE JULIO*, and on the lower arm, *DE 1809*. The ribbon is half red and half black.

CROSS FOR ALMONACID 1809. Founded on May 30, 1816, by Ferdinand VII, for the troops present at the battle of Almonacid on August 11, 1809. The decoration is a white-enamelled shield superimposed on a green and white cross *saltier*, the arms of which terminate in triple points. The whole is surmounted by a gold crown, and a gold acorn is at the base of the shield. In the green oval centre is *POR Fº 7º*, surrounded by the inscription *EN ALMONACID 11 DE AGOSTO DE 1809*. The ribbon is green with narrow white stripes at the sides.

CROSS FOR ARANJUEZ 1809. The troops present at the engagement of Aranjuez, near Toledo, on August 5, 1809, were rewarded by the King on May 30, 1816, with this decoration—a five-pointed, ball-tipped, blue-enamelled star, bearing on the white centre a gold *F 7º* with a crown above, and encircled by a white band inscribed *ACCION DE ARANJUEZ 5 DE AGOSTO DE 1809*. The reverse is plain and the ribbon is blue with white stripes at the sides.

MEDAL FOR TAMAMES. The Spanish troops of the left army, under Martin Carrera, who participated in the battle of Tamames on October 18, 1809, against the French, were awarded this decoration by Ferdinand on July 2,

SPANISH DECORATIONS

PL. XVIII



Almonacid
Abisbal, S. Feliu, Palamos

Tamames
Lucena

1815. It is an oval gilt medal surrounded by a green laurel wreath, bearing in the centre a blue sleeved right arm, holding upright a sabre, and surrounded by *VENCIO EN TAMAMES OCTUBRE 18 DE 1809*. The reverse is plain. The ribbon is blue with a red stripe each side.

MEDAL FOR MEDINA DEL CAMPO. On July 2, 1815, Ferdinand VII created this decoration for the left army engaged in the battle of Medina del Campo in Valladolid, on November 23, 1809—an oval silver medal with a laurel wreath in the centre, encircled by a band inscribed *AL VALOR MEDINA DEL CAMPO NOVIEMBRE 23 DE 1809*. The reverse is plain. The ribbon is white with a green band each side.

CROSS FOR CUIDAD-RODRIGO. Founded on December 6, 1814, for the soldiers taking part in the sortie of July 10, 1810, and at the time of the second siege of Ciudad-Rodrigo in 1812—gold for the officers and silver for the privates. It is an eight-pointed, ball-tipped gold cross with blue-enamelled edges and surmounted by a mural crown. It bears on the obverse an oval of red enamel on which is a gold castle encircled by a white band. On the white reverse medallion is *VALOR / ACREDITADO / EN CUIDAD / RODRIGO*. The ribbon is violet.

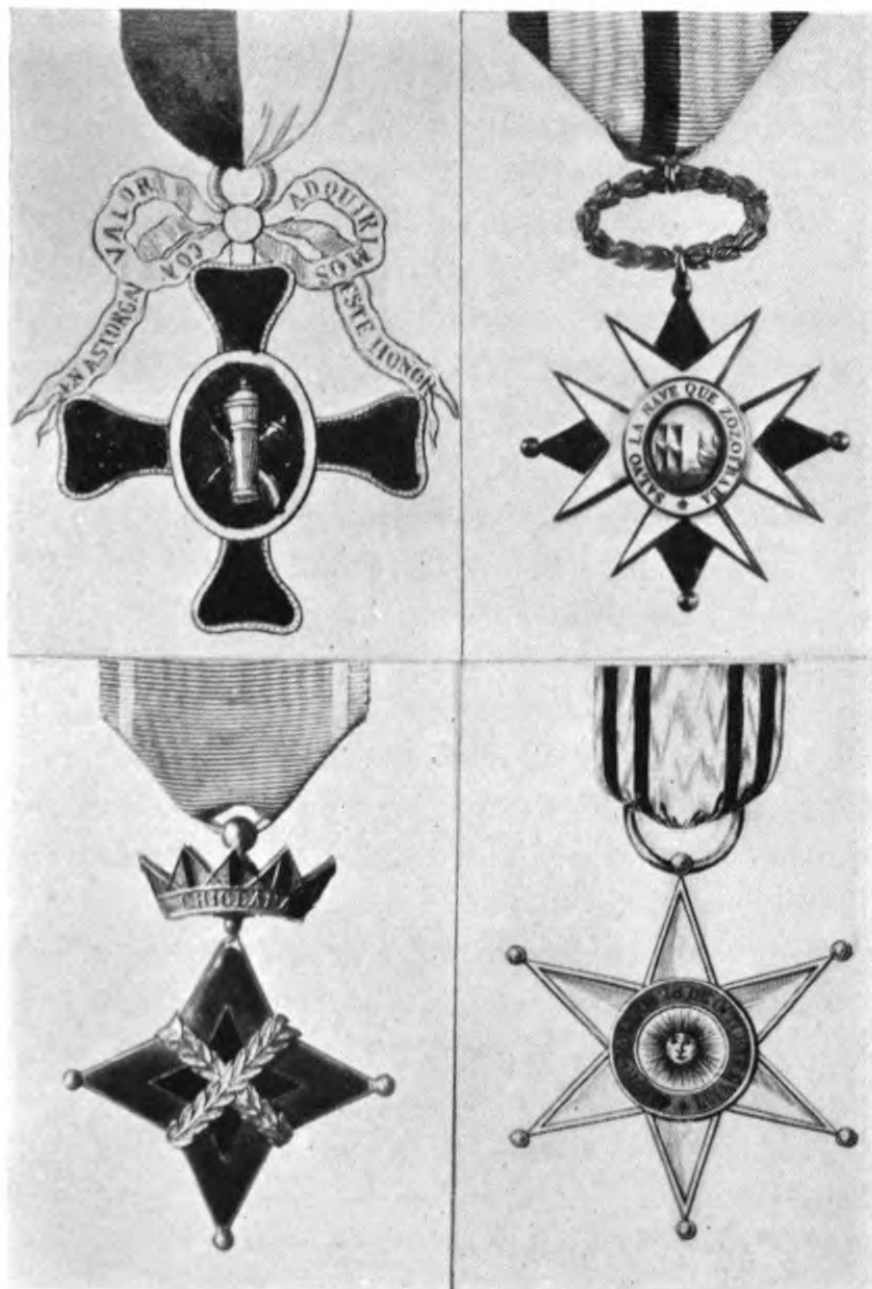
CROSS FOR ABISBAL, SAN FELIU and PALAMOS 1810. Founded on July 2, 1817, for the troops under the Count of Abisbal, who attacked the towns of Abisbal, San Feliu and Palamos in Castile, on September 13, 1810. It is a gold cross of white enamel with blue-enamelled borders, each arm terminating in three points. A green laurel wreath is entwined about the cross arms. The obverse medallion of blue bears a gold castle surrounded by a white band inscribed *ABISBAL PALAMOS Y SAN FELIU*. The reverse medallion bears a white fleur-de-lis on a blue field, encircled by a band inscribed *SETIEMBRE 13 DE 1810*. The ribbon is light blue with diagonal narrow white stripes crossed to form a lattice-work pattern.

MEDAL FOR BAGUR and PALAMOS 1810. An English writer (Tancred) describes and illustrates gold and silver medals given by Spain to certain British naval men of the "Ajax", "Kent" and "Cambrian" for service rendered in forcing the French to evacuate Catalonia. They are described as bearing on the obverse the arms of Spain and Great Britain, joined and crowned, surrounded by the flags of the two kingdoms. Below this is *ALIANZA ETERNA*, and the whole is encircled by a laurel wreath. On the reverse is *BAGUR / 10 DE SETIEMBRE / PA-*

LAMOS / 14 DE SETIEMBRE / 1810, surrounded by the words *GRATITUD DE ESPANA A LA INTERPIDEZ BRITANICA*. No description of the ribbon is given, and no Spanish authority mentions this medal, but this is no proof of its not being official as the Spanish authorities consulted mention only those medals given to Spanish citizens.

MEDAL FOR LUCENA 1810. Authorized on October 23, 1816, and awarded for service rendered the kingdom by four citizens, at the risk of their lives in Lucena, Cordova. The recipients Don Fernando Ramirez de Luque, Don Antonio Ortiz Repiso, Don Francisco Polo Valenzuela and Don Francisco d'Assis de la Carrera. The decoration is a white-enamelled star of eight points, in the centre of which on a gold field is a red cross and pedestal on a green hill; surrounding this, is a gold band inscribed *CERRO DE LA CAPITULACION*, and on the reverse *LA LEALTAD PREMIADA POR FERNANDO VII: LUCENA 25 DE SETIEMBRE DE 1810*. The ribbon is green, edged with red.

CROSS FOR ASTORGA 1810. Founded on April 10, 1815, by the King, for the troops taking part in the defense of Astorga, Leon, in 1810. This cross is of gold for the officers and of silver



Astorga
Chiclana

Estramadura
Arroyo-Molinos

for privates. It is red-enamelled with rounded corners and indented arms, in the centre of which is a blue medallion bearing a vertical cannon and a crossed rifle and sword. The cross is surmounted by a bow-knot of ribbon inscribed *EN ASTORGA CON VALOR ADQUIRIMOS ESTE HONOR*. The reverse is plain. The ribbon is half blue and half white.

CROSS OF ESTRAMADURA 1810. Also called the cross of Albuquerque. On June 5, 1815, Ferdinand VII founded this decoration for the army corps of Estramadura under the Duke of Albuquerque, which protected the retreat of the Government to Isla de Leon, near Cadiz, in 1810. It is a white-enamelled Maltese cross with blue and gold ball-tipped triangles in the angles of the cross-arm ends. The whole is surmounted by a laurel wreath. On the oval medallion is a sinking ship and the pillars of Hercules, surrounded by a white band inscribed *SALVO LA NAVE QUE ZOZOFRABA*, and on the reverse medallion a radiated eye, surrounded by *AL DUQUE DE ALBURQUERQUE Y SU EJERCITO*. The ribbon is white with three narrow blue stripes—one each side and one in the centre.

CROSS FOR ALBUHERA 1811. Instituted on March 1, 1815, by the King and awarded to

those of the Army of Estramadura who took part in the battle of Albuhera on May 16, 1811. General Castaños and the British forces were victorious over the French under Soult. The decoration is an elongated four-pointed star of red enamel, with ball tips, and flames in the angles, and surmounted by a green laurel wreath. In the centre is an oval white medallion, bearing in gold letters *F VII*, and surrounded by a gold band inscribed *AL BUHE RA*. The reverse is plain. The ribbon is red with equal bands of blue and black on either edge. This decoration in gold was also given to the officers of the British Army who were present at this engagement.

CROSS FOR CHICLANA 1811. The troops of the Fourth Army who were present on March 5, 1811, at the battle of Chiclana, near Cadiz, were awarded this cross by the King on February 13, 1815. It is a four-pointed, ball-tipped star of red enamel, with a star-shaped centre of black. Two wreaths at its angles, crossing at the centre, are superimposed. The whole is suspended from a crown, the band of which is inscribed *CHICLANA V DE MARZO 1811*. The ribbon is green with a narrow yellow stripe each side.

CROSS FOR ARROYO-MOLINOS 1811. Founded on May 1, 1817, by the King, and

awarded to the troops under General Pedro Augustin Giron, who routed the French army under General Girard, and captured 1500 prisoners and much booty. The "cross" is a six-pointed, ball-tipped star, enamelled white, having in the centre a sun with rays, surrounded by a purple band inscribed *ARROYO-MOLINOS 28 DE OCTUBRE DE 1811*. The reverse is plain. The ribbon is white with two narrow purple stripes each side.

DEFENCE OF TARIFA 1811. Founded on June 4, 1815, by the King for the men of the Fourth Army and of the Navy, who took part in the defence of Tarifa, on the Straits of Gibraltar, in December, 1811. The decoration is of gold for the officers and of silver for the privates and sailors. It is a yellow-enamelled cross, clichée, each arm having three ball-tipped points, and the whole surmounted by a mural crown. The medallion of blue is inscribed *A LOS DEFENSORES DE TARIFA*, and on the reverse is *F VII*. The ribbon is blue with an orange stripe each side.

CROSS FOR ARMY OF IZQUIERDA 1811. Founded on May 14, 1815, by Ferdinand VII, for the men of the Galician army—the sixth or left wing—who had distinguished themselves in the mountain engagements of Rioseco, Sornaza, Gueces and Espinosa in 1811. The

decoration is an elongated four-pointed star, enamelled red, ball-tipped, with flames in the angles, and surmounted by a laurel wreath. In an oval medallion of blue are the Arms of Galicia, (a gold chalice on a blue field, with small gold crosses in the field), surrounded by a gold band inscribed *IZ QUIER DA*. The reverse is plain. The ribbon is red with a gold stripe each side.

CROSS FOR TARRAGONA. Ferdinand VII founded this on May 14, 1815, for the troops under Don Juan Senen de Contreras, who prolonged the siege of Tarragona by Suchet in 1811 for two months. It is a red enamelled Greek cross with ends terminating in a palmette-shaped ornament of gold and surmounted by a royal crown; across the centre is inscribed *ANTES MORIR QUE RENDIR*. The reverse is plain. The ribbon is red.

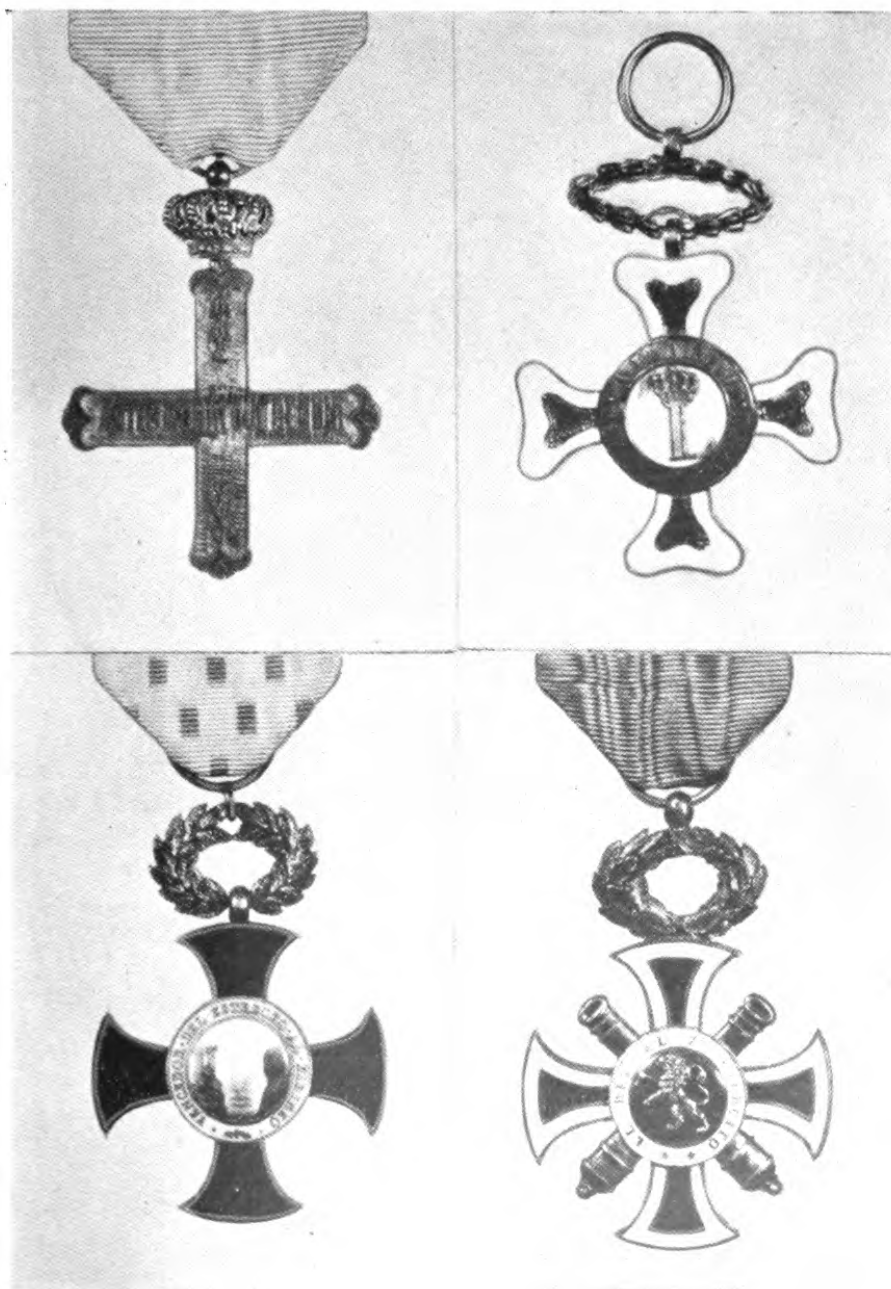
MEDAL FOR FIRST ARMY 1811. Awarded to the men of the First Army who had distinguished themselves during the War of Independence, especially in Catalonia in 1811. Founded by the King on March 31, 1811. The decoration is a dark blue-enamelled cross surmounted by a laurel wreath, bearing in the centre medallion the Arms of Catalonia, encircled by a white band inscribed *DEFENSOR DE MI REY Y EL*

PRINCIPADO. On the reverse medallion is inscribed *PRIMER EJERCITO*. The ribbon is white with red squares woven therein.

CROSS FOR FIRST ARMY. This decoration has been mentioned by Perrot and Trost but has not been confirmed by other writers. It is a white-enamelled Maltese cross in the form of a horizontal rectangle, surmounted by a flat laurel band, having in the centre of the cross an oval medallion bearing two deer and a small cross, surrounded by a gold band inscribed *PREMIERO EJERCITO 1811*. The ribbon is given as half red and half purple.

CROSS FOR FIRST ARMY 1813-1814. Described by Perrot and by an Italian authority as being awarded to the men of the First Army for service rendered in the years 1813 and 1814. The decoration is a blue-enamelled five-armed cross on a green-enamelled wreath and surmounted by a crown, having on a gold-edged centre of white *AL EXTO VICTORIOSO DEL I EXTO*, and on the reverse, *POR LAS CAMPANAS DE 1813 Y 1814*. The ribbon is described as red with four green stripes.

CROSS FOR SECOND ARMY FOR MURCIA. Founded on March 31, 1815, by the King



Tarragona
Third Army

Second Army
Seventh Army

and awarded to the men of the Second Army who distinguished themselves at the battle of Murcia and in other important events of the strenuous years of the Peninsular Wars. It is a green-enamelled cross, edged with white and with curvilinear arms, surmounted by a green laurel wreath, having in the white centre a gold *L* crowned (signifying Loyalty) encircled by a band inscribed *PREMIO A LA VIRTUD MILITAR*, and on the reverse, *SECUNDO EXERCITO*. The ribbon is green with white edges.

CROSS OF THIRD ARMY FOR LEON and CADIZ. Founded March 31, 1815, by Ferdinand VII, for the troops under the Duke of Albuquerque, for services on the Isla de Leon and in the defence of Cadiz, where the attacks of the French were withstood from 1810 to 1812. It is a green-enamelled cross with curved arms and ends, surmounted by a wreath and bearing in the centre medallion of white, the pillars of Hercules and a cliff, encircled by a white band inscribed *VENCEDOR DEL ESTRECHO AL PIRINEO*, and on the reverse, *TERCER EXERCITO*. The ribbon is white, with diamonds of green.

CROSS FOR SEVENTH ARMY. Founded on May 19, 1815, by Ferdinand VII, for the troops of that army in the War of Independence, for

campaigns in Castile, Asturia, Aragon, Navarre and the Basque provinces, under General Don Gabriel de Mendizabal. It is a green-enamelled cross-pattée, with white edges, and curved arms with convex ends. Gold cannon are crossed in the angles, and the whole is suspended from a gold laurel wreath. In the red medallion is the lion of Aragon, encircled by a white band bearing the legend *EL REY AL 7º EJERCITO*. The reverse reads *REY PATRIA O LA MUERTE*. The ribbon is green with a white stripe each side.

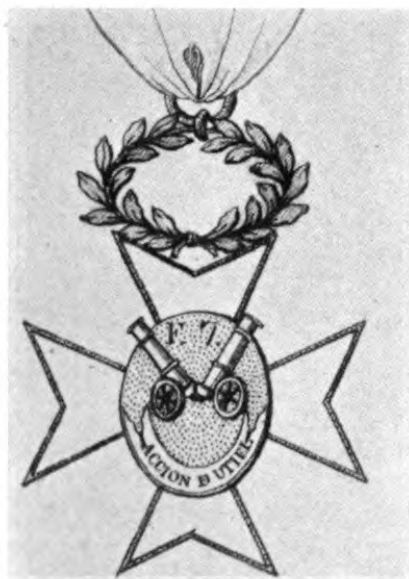
CROSS FOR UTIEL 1812. The King founded this decoration on June 20, 1815, to reward the Artillery Corps for its part in the action of Utiel, in Valencia, on August 15, 1812. It is a white-enamelled Maltese cross surmounted by a laurel wreath, bearing an oval medallion on which are two crossed cannon projecting into the upper part of the cross, and *F 7*. Below, on a scroll, is *ACCION DE UTIEL*. The ribbon is white with a wide yellow stripe in the centre.

CROSS FOR RECOVERY OF SEVILLE 1812. Founded March 17, 1815, by the King, and awarded for the recapture of Seville on August 27, 1812. It is of gold for officers and of bronze for privates. The decoration is a red-

enamelled square, on which are superimposed large white-enamelled loops to form a cross, edged with gold wreaths; the whole is surmounted by a green laurel wreath. On the obverse is *NO DO*, and on the reverse, a blue medallion having in the centre *27 DE AGOSTO DE 1812*, encircled by *EL REY A LOS RECONQUISTADORES DE SEVILLA*. The ribbon is equal stripes of black, red and blue.

CROSS FOR ARMY OF ANDALUSIA. Founded by the King on December 28, 1814, of gold for the officers and of bronze for the soldiers, and awarded to the men of the Reserve Army of Andalusia who distinguished themselves in 1813 in the taking of Pancorbo and in the engagements of Soraura in the Pyrenees and at Nivelles. It is a white-enamelled cross surmounted by a green laurel wreath, having in the centre an effigy of the King on a gold field, encircled by a blue band inscribed *EL REY AL EJERCITO DE RESERVA DE ANDALUCIA*. The reverse has *1813* on a gold field surrounded by a blue band inscribed *PANCORBO PIRINEOS NIVELLES*. The ribbon is orange-yellow edged with blue.

CROSS FOR CASTILLA 1813. Authorized by the King on June 27, 1816, for the troops of Mallorquina under General Whittingham, who



Utiel
San Marcial



Castalla
Cartagena de las Indias

were present on April 13, 1813, in the battle of Castalla against Marshal Suchat. It is a red-enamelled cross, with curved arms joined by a green laurel wreath, and the whole surmounted by a similar wreath, bearing on the obverse white medallion the words *CASTALLA 13 DE ABRIL DE 1813*, and on the reverse of white, *D M*, encircled by a gold band. The ribbon is yellow.

CROSS FOR PAMPLONA 1813 and BAYONNE 1814. Founded on June 4, 1815, by the King. This decoration was gold and awarded to all officers and men who took part in the sieges of Pamplona in 1813 and of Bayonne, France, in 1814. It is a five-armed gold cross with double points, ball-tipped, white-enamelled, with gold fleurs-de-lis in the angles; the whole surmounted by a green laurel wreath. The blue medallion edged with gold, has a red diamond thereon inscribed *F 7º*, around which, in the field, is *AL VALOR Y DISCIPLINA*. The white reverse reads *EN PAMPLONA Y BAYONA ANOS 1813 Y 1814*. The ribbon is red, edged with yellow.

CROSS FOR VITORIA 1813. This famous battle between the French-Spanish troops under Joseph Bonaparte and the English-Spanish forces under Wellington (Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo) and

Field-Marshal Don Francisco Thomas de Longa, was fought on June 21, 1813. The French were routed, Joseph Bonaparte was nearly captured and fled across the border to St. Jean de Luz in France. The battle of Vitoria was Wellington's decisive victory and was followed by the invasion of France, which induced Napoleon to free the captive King, Ferdinand VII, and permit his return to the throne of Spain. The decoration to commemorate this event was instituted on April 2, 1815, by the King. It is white-enamelled cross patté, with arms having curved sides, superimposed on a laurel wreath. The whole is surmounted by a gold crown. A red-enamelled four-pointed star is imposed upon the cross. On the centre red medallion are three crossed swords tied with a ribbon, inscribed *IRURACVAT*, and on the reverse white medallion, *RECOMPENSA DE LA BATALLA DE VITORIA*. The ribbon is of equal blue, red and black stripes.

CROSS FOR SAN MARCIAL 1813. This was awarded to the troops present at the battle of San Marcial, near Bidossa, on August 30, 1813. It was founded by the King on October 24, 1814, in gold for officers and in bronze for the privates. It is a red-enamelled ball-tipped star of four points, suspended by a ring; in the angles are fleurs-de-lis, a lion and a castle of gold. On the

centre of the obverse are two crossed swords and a laurel wreath, surrounded by a blue band inscribed *EL REY A LOS VENCEDORES EN SAN MARCIAL*. The ribbon is half violet and half red.

CROSS FOR ORDAL 1813. Founded on May 1, 1815, by the King, and awarded to the Grenadier column of the second army-corps for the engagement near Ordal, in Catalonia, on September 12 and 13, 1813. The decoration consists of four red-enamelled diamonds, ball-tipped at the three corners, fastened by the fourth to a white-enamelled medallion, encircled by a green wreath, thus forming a cross. Between each arm is a flaming grenade. On the medallion is a blue device flamed, and on the arms, *BATALLA / DEL ORDAL / 13 DE 7BRE / DE 1813*. The reverse medallion is inscribed *REY PATRIA Ó LA MUERTE*. The ribbon is violet with yellow edges.

CROSS FOR CARTAGENA DE LAS INDIAS 1814. Founded on April 1, 1816, by the King, and awarded to the men of the Army and Navy commanded by Lieut. General Morillo, who took part in the siege of Cartagena, an important harbor of what is now Colombia, in 1814. It was of gold for the officers and of silver for the men. The decoration is a green-enamelled cross

with triple-pointed arms, ball-tipped at the centre points. On the obverse medallion is a gold head of the King, encircled by a white band inscribed *A SU REY FERNANDO CONSTANCIA Y FIDELIDAD*, and on the reverse white medallion, *VENCEDORES DE CARTAGENA DE INDIAS*. The ribbon is of three equal stripes—the middle of red, the outer of green.

CROSS OF MERIT FOR SAN LORENZO DEL PUNTAL. Founded on April 10, 1815, by the King and awarded to the Artillery Battalion for the defense of the castle of San Lorenzo del Puntal, near Cadiz, in 1814. It is a Maltese cross, enamelled light brown, surmounted by two crossed feathers. The oval obverse medallion depicts a castle with a Spanish flag flying, and is encircled by a white band inscribed *VALOR ACREDITADO POR LOS ARTILLEROS DE S. LORENZO DEL PUNTAL*. On the gold reverse medallion, *POR EL REY D. FERNANDO VII AÑO 1814*. The ribbon is green. This cross was awarded to the officers, and a medal like the obverse medallion was given to the men.

CROSS FOR TOLOSA 1814. Founded on January 30, 1815, by Ferdinand VII, and awarded to the men of the Fourth Army who were in the battle of Toulouse, France, on April 10, 1814. This

battle was fought on Easter Sunday and was a decisive victory for the British-Spanish army under the Duke of Wellington, over the French forces under Marshal Soult, and was the final battle of the Peninsular War. Napoleon abdicated on April 12, and had the news spread faster, much bloodshed would have been prevented. The decoration is a blue-enamelled cross with divided curved ends and a gold ball in each end division. Between the cross arms is a crowned column, a sabre and a palm leaf crossed. On the obverse medallion of white are inscribed the words *BATALLA / DE TOLOSA / ABRIL 10 DE / 1814*, surrounded by a laurel wreath; on the reverse, *VALOR Y DISCIPLINA*. The ribbon is blue with yellow borders.

DECORATION FOR THE COUNCIL OF THE MESTA. Founded on May 31, 1816, by the King, as a distinction of honour for the members of the Council of the Mesta who had taken part in the meetings of April 26 and May 3, 1815, during the Presidency of Ferdinand. The Mesta is a body of proprietors of black cattle and sheep; annual meetings are held, and it is one of the oldest organizations of Spain, deriving large revenues from the sale of wool. The decoration is a white-enamelled oval surmounted by a royal crown of gold. The obverse centre depicts a

San Lorenzo del Puntal
Majorca Division

Tolosa
Cross of Fidelity

sheep, a dog and a shepherd's crook on green grass, with a mountain in the distance. Surrounding this are the words *FERNANDO VII AL HONRADO CONCEJO DE LA MESTA*, and on the reverse centre is the quartered Arms of the organization. The ribbon is purple with a white stripe each side.

CROSS FOR THE MAJORCA DIVISION. Founded on June 27, 1816, by the King, and awarded to the troops forming the division of Majorca—the largest of the Balearic Islands—during the War of Independence, under Lieut. General Santiago Whittingham. It is a white-enamelled cross with curved arms, surmounted by a gold crown, and with fleurs-de-lis in the angles. On the arms are the gold letters *A L D M* (*A la division Mallorquina*), and on the obverse red medallion is a gold bust of the King, surrounded by a laurel wreath. The reverse is inscribed *VALOR Y DICIPLINA*. The ribbon is red.

CROSS OF MADRID 1818. But two authorities—Perrot and Padiglione, mention this decoration, and it is believed to have been awarded after one of the numerous uprisings in the country. No date has been found for its origin. It is a white-enamelled Maltese cross, ball-tipped, and surmounted by flags and a helmet; fleurs-de-lis in

the angles. The blue obverse centre bears the words *MADRID 1818*, and the reverse *PRO FER^o VII*. The ribbon is blue, edged with white.

SHIELD OF FIDELITY. Instituted by Ferdinand VII on December 14, 1823, to reward special service to his cause from 1820 to 1823. It is silver-gilt, in the form of a sun, bearing in the centre a red-enamelled cross of flames within two green palm-branches, and surmounted by a royal crown of gold. Below, on a white ribbon are the words *EL REY A LA FIDELIDAD*.

MILITARY CROSS OF FIDELITY. Founded on August 9, 1824, by Ferdinand VII, for the Royalists who defended the throne in the various uprisings of the first epoch from March 7, 1820 to June 30, 1822, and of the second epoch, July 1, 1822 to February 28, 1823, and from March 1 to May 1, 1823. Awarded in gold, silver and bronze, according to the rank of the recipient. The decoration is a cross, the arms of which are formed of rays on which are red grenades, the whole being surmounted by a similar wreath, with leaves through which the ribbon passes. At the centre of the cross is a *llama* or cross formed of four flames, encircled by a blue band inscribed *EL REY A LA FIDELID. MILITAR*. On the reverse in a gold-crowned oval, is the arms of the

King encircled by the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece; and on the encircling band of blue is *FERNANDO VII A LOS DEFENSORES DE LA RELIGION Y DEL TRONO EN GRADO HEROICO Y EMINENTE*. The cross for the second epoch varies from the first. On the reverse is the inscription *FERNANDO VII A LOS DEFENSORES DE LA RELIGION Y DEL TRONO*. The ribbon is of three equal stripes, two of red at the sides and one of yellow in the centre. On October 10, 1832, Queen Maria Christina awarded this decoration—then called *La Constanza Militar*, for long service in the Army.

MEDAL FOR EPIDEMICS. Created on March 17, 1829, by Ferdinand VII, for heroic service in the cholera epidemic in Manila in 1820. The decoration is a white-enamelled cross with the arms curved convexly at the extremities and concavely at the sides. The angles are filled by the ball-tipped rays of a red-enamelled, four-pointed star. The whole is surmounted by a laurel wreath. In the centre of the cross is a bust of the King, encircled by a green wreath. The reverse medallion of blue is inscribed *FERNANDO VII AL MERITO EN LA EPIDEMIA DE MANILA DE 1820*, for those who received this medal during that epidemic. The ribbon is half red and half yellow. This cross was awarded



Epidemics
Caspueñas and Brihuega

July Seventh
Valencia 1823

retro-actively to those who had done similar work in other places, and the reverse inscription was changed accordingly. Citations noted are for *CANARIES EN 1811*, *GIBRALTAR EN 1828* and *CADIZ EN 1819 Y 1820*. In August, 1838, it was altered by substituting the bust of Isabella II on the obverse medallion, the inscription on the reverse being changed accordingly. The laurel wreath was replaced by two palm branches and the ribbon made half black and half purple.

SHIELD FOR VENTOSILLA 1821. Founded on April 11, 1821, and awarded to Sergeant Juan Baya and the seven men under him, for the attack on the streets of Ventosilla on April 5, 1821, on twenty armed rebels who conspired against the Constitutional Government. The decoration is circular in form, 55 mm. in diameter, enamelled red with gold edges. In the centre in black letters is *5 / DE ABRIL / DE / 1821*, the whole surrounded by palm and laurel branches of green, within a gold ring. Around this is inscribed *EL REY A LOS DEFENSORES DE LA CONSTITUCION* in black letters on the red background.

MEDAL FOR JULY 7, 1822. Founded by the Cortez on December 27, 1822, for civilians who aided in opposing the attack on Spanish liberty in Madrid that day. It is a gold medal composed

of laurel and palm branches on which are two crossed swords; superimposed is an open book, enamelled white, bearing the words *CONSTI / TUCION / POLITICA / DE LA MO / NARQUIA / ESPANOLA / PROMUL / GADA EN / CADIZ AÑO / DE 1812*. On the reverse of book, in a blue field, is *ACCION / MEMO / RABLE / DEL 7 / DE JULIO / DE 1822*. The ribbon is a wide violet stripe, edged on either side with narrow red and yellow stripes.

CROSS FOR CASPUENAS and BRIHUEGA 1823. Founded on October 18, 1842, for the Madrid Militia under Don Juan Martin Diez, who took part against the rebels at Caspuenas and Brihuega on January 24 and 25, 1823. The decoration consists of an eight-pointed star, ball-tipped, with the points enamelled alternately red and white, and surmounted by a green laurel wreath. In the white medallion is 1823 surrounded by a blue band inscribed *PREMIO AL VALOR Y SUFRIMIENTO*, and on the reverse blue medallion is *ACCIONES DE CASPUENAS Y BRIHUEGA*. The ribbon is red with a narrow white stripe in the centre.

CROSS FOR CUENCA 1823. Founded on January 24, 1837, by the General Cortez, under Isabella II, for the heroic defenders of Cuenca

during 1822 and 1823, against the enemies of the Constitution of the Monarchy. It is a six-pointed gold star, ball-tipped, enamelled light blue, with a medallion of white bearing the inscription *BENEMERITO DE LA PATRIA*, around which is a gold edged white-enamelled circle inscribed *LA CORTES GENERALES DE 1823*. The reverse centre is inscribed *CUENCA 2 Y 3 DE MAYO 1823*, surrounded by *A LOS DEFENSORES DE LA LIBERTAD*. The ribbon is blue with two wide white stripes and narrow violet edges. Silver medals also were awarded by the Cortez on August 4, 1823, to the defenders of the Constitution of the cities of Sallent, Porrera and Santa Coloma de Queralt, but no description thereof is obtainable.

CROSS FOR THE FIRE OF 1823. Founded on September 25, 1823, to reward the officers and men of the French army, who on July 20, 1823, assisted in saving the Duke de Angoulême from the fire in the Church and Convent of the Holy Spirit in Madrid. It is a white-enamelled ball-tipped cross, with curvilinear ends, in the angles of which are gold flames. In the centre is an oval medallion on which appears the arms of Madrid—a dog or bear at the base of a green tree which is crowned. Around this on a white

band is *MADRID 20 DE JULIO DE 1823*. The ribbon is bright red, edged with white.

CROSS FOR VALENCIA 1823. Also called the Medal for Valencia. Founded by the Cortez May 23, 1823, for the soldiers and civilians who took part in opposing the French invasion of their country under the Duke of Angoulême. It is a silver cross of four curvilinear openwork arms, enamelled white and superimposed on a green laurel wreath and four crossed swords, and surmounted by a mural crown and casque. In the centre is a white-enamelled shield inscribed in black letters *CON / NUESTRA SANGRE / SELLAMOS / NUESTRO / JURAMENTO*. On the arms of the cross, in black, is *ISABEL II / Y LAS CORTES / A LOS / VALIENTES*; and on the reverse, in a white medallion, is the arms of the city of Valencia; a red flame surmounted by two gold Ls crowned. The blue encircling band is inscribed, *DE VALENCIA AÑO DE 1823*. The ribbon is yellow with three red stripes. On November 11, 1836, this decoration was again authorized by the government to reward those defending the cause of Isabella II during the Carlist troubles of that year.

CROSS OF CADIZ 1823. Founded June 23, 1836, for the volunteers of the National Militia

of Madrid, who accompanied the Cortez and King to Cadiz in 1823. It consists of a five-armed, ball-tipped gold cross, enamelled black with gold battlement walls between the arms. On the white centre is the cipher of the queen *Y 2* surrounded by a blue band inscribed *A LA M. N. (Milicia Nacional) DE MADRID*, and on the reverse is *1823* encircled by a blue band on which is *ISLA GADITANA*. The ribbon is blue, edged with red.

CROSS FOR NATIONAL MILITIA 1823. Founded July 14, 1836, for the volunteers of Madrid who took part in the defence of the Government against the French. It is similar to the above Cross of Cadiz, but varies in the inscription. On the obverse is *ISABEL II / A LA / MILICIA NACIONAL / DE 1823*, and on the reverse, *PATRIOTISMO / Y / LEALTAD*.

PLAQUE FOR CADIZ 1823. Founded on February 15, 1841, during the provisional Regency of Maria Christina for the National Militia who were transported to Cadiz to support the siege of that city against the French. It consists of a gold ball-tipped star of four points enamelled blue, superimposed upon a green laurel wreath, bearing in the red centre a gold castle encircled by a white band inscribed *CADIZ 1823*.



Cadiz 1823
Tarifa

Prisoners
Vargas

PLAQUE FOR NATIONAL MILITIA 1823. Founded May 12, 1841, for the National Militia which took part in the defence of the liberties of the country against the French in other places than Madrid. It is similar to the above plaque for Cadiz, save that the enamel is violet, the circle is red and the inscription is *M. N. ESPEDICIONARIA 1823*.

CROSS FOR PRISONERS 1823. Founded October 17, 1842, for the members of the army who had been taken prisoners by the French and sent into Spain in 1823 after the Congress of Verona. It was at this Congress that France, Austria, Russia and Prussia had insisted upon Spain altering her Constitution. The decoration is a gold cross, enamelled black with white edges, gold rays in the angles, and in the centre of white a gold castle with laurel branches on either side and around this *HONOR, VALOR, CONSTANCIA, 1823*. On the reverse shield is a laurel wreath and *PRISIONEROS DEL AÑO 1823*. The ribbon is black with red and yellow stripes at the edges.

MEDAL FOR VILLAR DE CIERVOS 1823. Founded on October 16, 1823, by the King, and bestowed on twenty-seven citizens of Villar de Ciervos for their distinguished service on August

27th, 1823, in the engagement against the Constitutional band of Don Alonzo Martin, Lieut. Colonel of the regiment of Algarbia, and brother of the notorious Empecinado. This was at the time of the Constitutional uprising, believed to have been brought about by General Rafael del Riego, when the French king sent an army into Spain, commanded by the Duc d'Angoulême, to demand the alteration of the Constitution in accordance with the Congress of Verona in October, 1822. The decoration is a silver medal, in the centre of which is the bust of Ferdinand VII, encircled by *A LOS VALIENTES DEFENSORES DE SU REY FERNANDO VII.* On the reverse, in horizontal lines is *REALISTAS / DE / VILLAR DE CIERVOS / AÑO DE 1823.* The ribbon is half white and half red.

PLAQUE FOR ALMERIA 1824. This unusual decoration was instituted by the regency on August 25, 1841, and awarded to those who took part in the unfortunate attack on Almeria on the morning of August 13, 1824, in attempting to restore the National liberty. It is circular in form (55 x 85 mm.), a white enamelled field encircled by a palm and laurel branch, and surmounted by a laurel wreath which is tied at the top with a large flowing knot of white and red-enamelled ribbon. Superimposed on this is a large

red-enamelled Greek cross, the centre of which bears a five-pointed gold star with a red centre, on which is L. o. M. (*Libertad ou Muerta*). On the upper part of the white field of the plaque appear the words *MARTIRES DE LA LIBERTAD EN S. BARTOLOME 1824*; and on the lower field, *ALMERIA*.

MEDAL FOR TARIFA 1824. Founded on June 18, 1841, for a number of Spanish citizens under Francois Valdés, who, for ten days defended Tarifa against five thousand insurgents in August, 1824. The decoration is oval, of red-enamelled flames with a golden castle at the centre, from the top of which an armoured arm brandishes a sword. Under the castle is the word *VALOR*. A laurel wreath surmounts the medal; and on the reverse is a gold oval inscribed *TARIFA 1824*. The ribbon is of three equal stripes, green (left), yellow (centre) and violet (right).

PLAQUE OF LIBERTY. Founded on May 14, 1841, for those who during 1830 and the following years, assisted in reestablishing the Constitutional Government in Spain. It is circular in form and composed of twenty-two faceted rays, in the centre of which is an enamelled field with two globes or hemispheres, tied with a red band and surmounted by a royal crown. On either side

is a pillar of Hercules, one with *PLUS*, and the other with *ULTRA*, on white scrolls, joined by a chain. In the background are several mountain peaks in white, from one of which extends an armoured arm holding a sword. This entire device is encircled by a green laurel wreath, intertwined with a red ribbon, inscribed in black letters *PATRIA HONOR LIBERTAD / COLUMNAS LIBERTADORAS 1830*.

CROSS FOR VARGAS 1833. Founded on February 20, 1838, for the loyalists who took part in the engagement of November 3, 1833, at Vargas during the Carlist uprising of that year. It is a gold Maltese cross, ball-tipped and with gold rays in the angles, superimposed on a violet-enamelled circle, and surmounted by a gold laurel wreath. On the circle in black letters is *AL VALOR Y LEALTAD. VARGAS 3 DE NOBRE 1833*. The reverse is plain. The ribbon is of equal stripes of orange and violet, with a narrow white stripe in the centre.

CROSS FOR SARAGOSSA. Founded by the Regency on April 15, 1842, for the troops of the second battalion of the National Militia of Saragossa, who took part in the suppression of the Carlist rebels under Everisto and Cabrera during the troubles of 1833-1835. It is a white enamelled

Maltese cross superimposed on a green laurel wreath, with a diamond-shaped red medallion in the centre, on which is a crowned gold lion, surrounded by a green band inscribed *CAZADORES DEL 2º BATALLON DE LA M.N.V. (Milicia Nacional Voluntario) DE ZARAGOZA*. The centre of the ribbon is of horizontal lines of red and white of equal width, with perpendicular stripes of blue and white at either side.

MEDAL FOR DEFENSE OF VERGARA 1834. Founded on October 3, 1834, by the Government during the infancy of Isabella II for the women who took part in the defense of Vergara, near San Sebastian, on September 5, 1834. It is an oval gold medal surmounted by a knot of gold ribbon, bearing on the obverse a gold bust of the Queen-mother, Maria Christina, on a red-enamelled field, surrounded by a white band. On the plain reverse, in horizontal lines, are the words *AL DENUEDO / DE LAS DEFENSORAS / DE VERGARA / MARIA CRISTINA / REINA / GOBERNADORA*. The ribbon is light blue.

CROSS FOR MENDIGORRIA 1835. Founded September 23, 1835, for the men of the army of the North, who, under General Luis Fernandez de Cordova, won the battle of Mendigorría on July



Saragossa
Chiva 1836

St. Maria del Hort
San Sebastian

16, 1835. It is a white-enamelled, gold-edged cross of five arms, ball-tipped and surmounted by a laurel wreath. A similar wreath is intertwined between the Arms, and on the red-enamelled medallion is the cipher of the youthful queen *Y 2* encircled by a blue band inscribed *PREMIO AL VALOR*; the reverse medallion has in the centre *LE REINA A SUS DEFENSORES* encircled by *MENDIGORRIA 16 DE JULIO DE 1835*. The ribbon is crimson.

CROSS FOR ST. MARIA DEL HORT 1836. Founded September 15, 1842, for the militia of Barcelona, who in January, 1836, attacked and captured the fort of Santa Maria del Hort, under the leadership of Colonel Don Antonio Niubo. The decoration is a flesh-colored Maltese cross edged with gold, ball-tipped, surmounted by a green laurel wreath, and having cannon and flames in the angles. The centre medallion has a view of the Sanctuary of St. Maria del Hort, encircled by a white band inscribed *AL VALOR CONSTANCIA Y SUFRIMIENTO*; and on the reverse blue centre, *23 DE ENERO DE 1836*, encircled by a blue band on which is *POR EL SANTUARIO DE NRA SRA DEL HORT*. The ribbon has narrow stripes of red at the edges, and equal stripes of white separated by one of black.

CROSS FOR CHIVA 1836. Founded on November 30, 1840, by the Provisional Regency for the Militia of Valencia who took part in the mountain engagements of Chiva á Requena on April 2, 1836. The cross is formed of four red-enamelled swords with gold handles, and with gold rays in the centre, surmounted by a green laurel wreath. In the white medallion is the inscription *CHIVA / 2 DE ABRIL / DE 1836*; and on the reverse, *PATRIOTISMO*. The ribbon is green with a red stripe each side.

MEDAL FOR SAN SEBASTIAN 1836. A detachment of the Royal Artillery, led by Lieut. Colonel Colquehoun R.A., was sent by England to assist Isabella II in the Carlist War of that year. A medal was authorized on April 23, 1842, for the British volunteers who were in action on the heights of San Sebastian on May 5, 1836. An English writer says that these were of white metal, and that the officers on their return to England had a die cut and silver medals struck, though Duenas, a Spanish writer, states that they were issued in silver. On the obverse of the medal is a lion, *passant*, encircled by a collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece, surrounded by the inscription *ESPANA AGRADECIDA* (Spanish Gratitude). On the reverse is a cross pattée with crowns in each angle, in the centre of which is

SAN SEBASTIAN 5 DE MAYO 1836, surrounded by a laurel wreath. The ribbon is blue with a yellow stripe each side. In the writer's collection is one of these silver medals, awarded to Captain MacDonald of the 6th Regiment, together with his Order of St. Ferdinand. A pewter medal examined was struck from the same dies. Tancred states that this was an ill-advised expedition, and that many of the Englishmen returned broken down in health and constitution and were unable to obtain employment and that they were found begging on the streets of London.

CROSS FOR ST. SEBASTIAN. Elvin, an English authority, gives a double silver cross, inscribed on the obverse *ST SEBASTIAN v. 2da 5o MAYO 1836*, and on the reverse the name of the recipient, within a laurel wreath, though it is mentioned by no Spanish authority. Ribbon as above.

SHIELD FOR LODOSA. Founded February 28, 1837, for a corps of cavalry, under General D. Miguel Iribarren, who took part in the affairs at Lodoso in Navarra, on August 19, 1836. The decoration consists of two crossed sabres interlaced by a laurel wreath; through this passes a lance flying a red and white pennant.



Lodosa
Bilbao 1835

Cantavieja
Defenders of Bilbao

CROSS FOR CANTAVIEJA 1836. Founded February 14, 1837, for the troops under General Evaristo San Miguel, who took part in the siege and occupation of Cantavieja, October 31, 1836, during the Carlist war. It is composed of two crossed gold cannon, surmounted by a gold knot of ribbon, above which is a green laurel wreath; on the medallion appears a gold tower in a green field encircled by a white band, inscribed *SUFRI-MIENTO Y BIZARRIA*. On the white reverse medallion is *CANTAVIEJA 31 DE OCTUBRE DE 1836*, encircled by a green band inscribed *POR ISABEL II Y LA CONSTITUCION*. The ribbon is dark green, edged with red. The cross for the privates was bronze-gilt.

CROSS FOR BILBAO 1835. Founded on July 6, 1835, by the Queen Regent, and awarded to those who had taken part in the defense of Bilbao on the Bay of Biscay, under the command of Mirasol, during the first siege by the Carlists. It is a four-armed gold Maltese cross with white-enamelled borders, ball-tipped and surmounted by a green laurel wreath with alternate towers and lions in the angles. On the obverse red medallion is a gold bust of the Queen encircled by a similar band inscribed *ISABEL 2A PATRIA Y LIBERTAD*, and on the reverse red medallion is the arms of the city—a tower, a stone bridge and two

mules in the field—surrounded by a blue band inscribed *SITIO DE BILBAO JUNIO DE 1835*. The ribbon is red with a narrow blue band each side.

CROSS FOR LIBERATORS OF BILBAO 1836. Authorized by Isabella II on January 3, 1837, for the British volunteers who assisted in the Carlist war and who with Cabrera's army raised the siege of December, 1836. This cross was also given to British naval men who assisted General Espartero on December 24 and 25, 1836. The decoration is a gold Maltese cross, ball-tipped, enamelled blue with white edges, and surmounted by a laurel wreath, and with crossed cannon in the angles. On the cross arms are grenades with flames, and in the centre red medallion is a castle encircled by a white band inscribed *SALVO A BILBAO*; on the reverse medallion is depicted a battered wall encircled by a white band, inscribed *EN SU TERCER SITIO 1836*. The ribbon is of three equal stripes, two of green at the sides and one of yellow in the centre. The officer's cross was of gold and enamel; those of the rank and file of silver. The latter is found inscribed simply *BILBAO 1836*, and it is presumed these were given to the Spanish troops who assisted in this engagement, no authority having been found for such.

CROSS FOR DEFENDERS OF BILBAO 1836. Authorized January 3, 1837, by Queen Isabella II for the troops who defended Bilbao in the Carlist war during the siege of December, 1836. It is a gold Maltese cross, each arm terminating in three points, ball-tipped, and with grenades in the angles. A green-enamelled laurel wreath with a gold castle in the centre surmounts the cross. On the obverse medallion of red is a gold tower, encircled by a blue band inscribed *DEFENDIO A LA INVICTA BILBAO*; on the reverse is a wall and tower encircled by a blue band inscribed *EN SU TERCER SITIO 1836*. The ribbon is of three equal stripes, two of yellow on the sides and one of green in the centre.

CROSS FOR GRA 1837. Founded on August 4, 1843, for the troops of the Catalonian army under Baron de Meer, to commemorate the defeat of the forces under Don Carlos at Gra on June 12, 1837. It is a red-enamelled gold star of five points, ball-tipped. In the centre is a blue medallion bearing a gold sun and encircled by a white band on which is inscribed *GRA 12 DE JUNIO DE 1837*. The star is surmounted by a green laurel wreath, through which passes the suspension ribbon of black with two narrow white stripes in the centre.

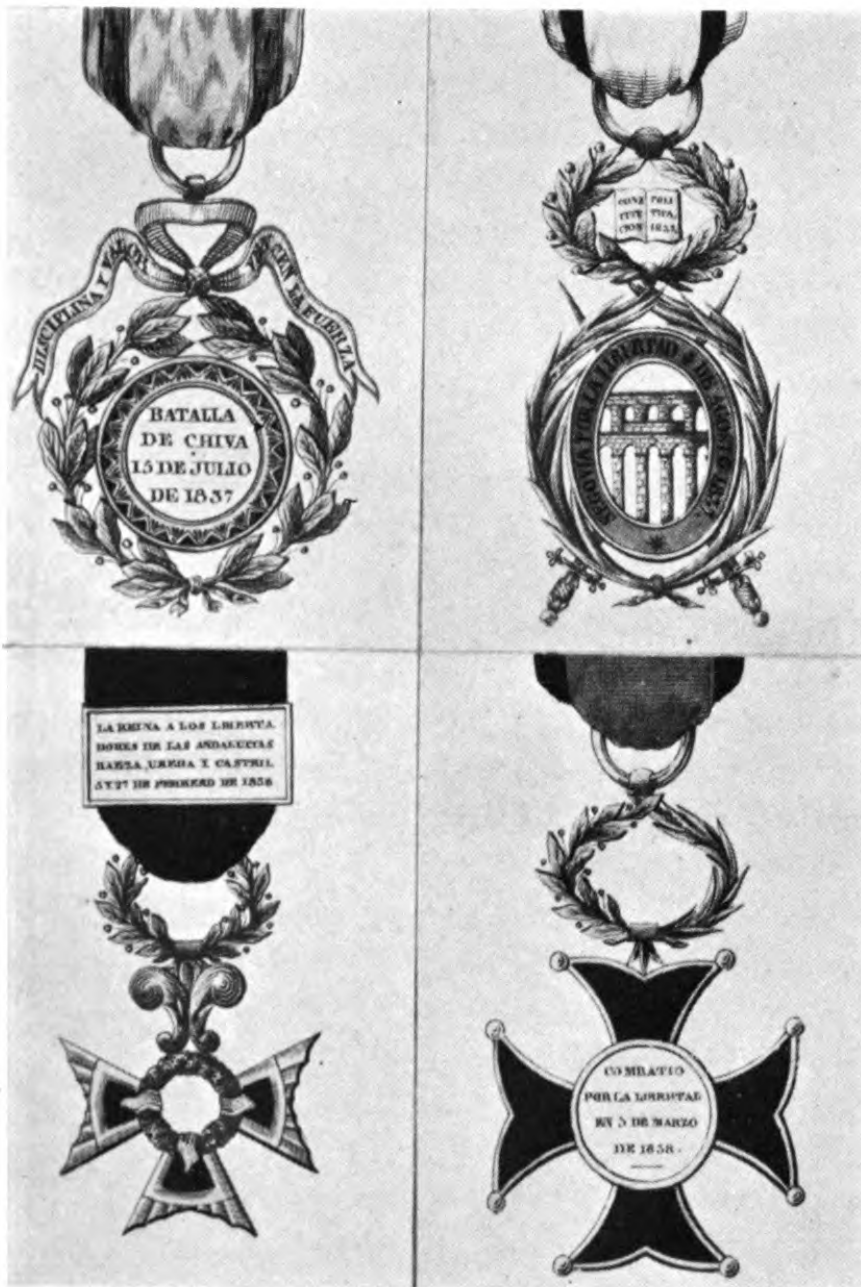
MEDAL FOR CHIVA 1837. Founded on August 31, 1837, for troops fighting under General Marcelino Oroa, for gallantry at the battle of Valencia on July 15, 1837. Of gold for the officers and of silver for the men. It consists of a circular white medallion with a figured gold border, encircled by a green laurel wreath and surmounted by a knot of ribbon with long streamer ends, on which is *DISCIPLINA Y VALOR / VENCEN LA FUERZA*. On the obverse centre is inscribed *BATALLA / DE CHIVA / 15 DE JULIO / DE 1837*. The reverse is plain. The ribbon is orange with a blue stripe at either side.

MEDAL FOR SEGOVIA 1837. Founded on April 25, 1842, for the militia and civilians of Segovia in old Castile, who defended that city against the Carlists on August 4, 1837. It is an oval medallion, on the centre of which is the Arms of the city (a two-tiered aquaduct) surrounded by a blue band inscribed *SEGOVIA POR LA LIBERTAD 4 DE AGOSTO DE 1837*. This is encircled by gold palm-branches and superimposed on two crossed swords. The whole is surmounted by a green laurel wreath, within which is an open book inscribed *CONSTITUCION POLITICA 1837*. The ribbon is white-edged with narrow

yellow and red bands of equal width, the yellow being outermost.

CROSS FOR 1837. Padiglioni, an Italian writer, is the sole authority for this decoration. He states that it was awarded to the National Militia who assisted in upholding the Constitution of that period. On the obverse the words *FIDELIDAD Y CONSTANTIA* are inscribed, and on the reverse is *CONSTITUCION DE 1837*. No further description is given.

CROSS FOR BAEZA, UBEDA and CASTRIL 1838. Founded on February 28, 1839, for the troops under General D. Laureano Sanz, who took part in the engagements of February 5 and 27, 1838, in Andalusia. It is of gold for the officers and of silver for the men, and is in the form of a Maltese cross with the upper arm composed of a double scroll and surmounted by a laurel wreath. On the arms are black-enamelled reserves, from which extend gold hands clasping a wreath of immortelles. The ribbon consists of diagonal bands of black and red, with a narrow black and red edge. On the ribbon is a wide band of gold (or silver) inscribed in black, *LA REINA A LOS LIBERTADORES DE LAS ANDALUCIAS: / BAEZA, UBEDA Y CASTRIL, / 5 Y 27 DE FEBRERO DE 1838*.



Chiva 1837
Baeza, Ubeda, Castril

Segovia
Saragossa 1838

CROSS FOR SARAGOSSA 1838. Founded by Queen Isabella II on April 16, 1838, and awarded to the troops and individuals taking part in this engagement against the Carlists. The decoration is a red-enamelled gold cross with curvilinear ends, surmounted by a wreath of laurel and palm. On the obverse medallion of white is *COMBATIO / POR LA LIBERTAD / EN 5 DE MARZO / DE 1838*. On the reverse, *ISABEL II / A LA SIEMPRE / HEROICA / ZARAGOZA*. The ribbon is blue, edged with black.

CROSS FOR PEÑACERRADA 1838. This was founded on July 20, 1838, by Isabella II, and awarded to those taking part in the engagement against the Carlists on June 20, 1838, at Peñacerrada. The decoration is a bronze Maltese cross with cannon crossed in the angles; and on the medallion is a castle encircled by the motto *LO TOME POR ASALTO*. On the reverse medallion in horizontal lines is *PEÑACERRADA / 20 DE JUNIO / DE 1838*. The ribbon is three equal stripes—red on the sides and black in the centre.

CROSS FOR THE SIEGE OF SOLSONA 1838. Founded on August 20, 1838, by Isabella II, for the troops, under General de Meer, taking

part in the siege and capture of Solsona July 21 to 27, 1838, during the Carlist war. It is a gold cross, enamelled black and edged with white, surmounted by a royal crown. In the cross angles are gold lyres, and on the obverse medallion is the arms of the city (a gold sun on a blue field) encircled by a white band inscribed *SITIO Y ASALTO DE SOLSONA*. On the reverse blue medallion are the initials of the Queen, *Y 2* surrounded by the inscription *23 DE JULIO DE 1838*. The ribbon is three equal stripes, red in the centre and black on the sides, edged with red. The officers received this cross in gold and the men in silver.

CROSS FOR CHESTE 1838. Founded on May 5, 1841, by the Provisional Regency for the Militia of Valencia for the action at Cheste on December 2, 1838, during the Carlist troubles. It is a cross with concave ends, enamelled white with gold edges, with a green laurel wreath passing above the side arms and under the other arms. In the white centre of the obverse medallion is *CHESTE / 2 DE DICIEMBRE / DE 1838*; on the gold reverse is *AL PATRIOTISMO*. The ribbon is white with a narrow green band at the sides.

CROSS FOR INIESTA 1838. Founded at the same time as the above for those taking part in the expedition of Iniesta on December 6, 1838. The decoration is similar except that the cross is red, and on the obverse medallion is inscribed *INIESTA / 6 DE DICIEMBRE / DE 1838*, and the ribbon is white with wide green bands each side.

CROSS FOR TALES 1839. Founded on August 4, 1843, for the troops under General Leopold O'Donnell to whom the castle and fortress of Tales were surrendered by the troops of Cabrera on August 14, 1839, during the Carlist war. The decoration is a cross formed of two crossed cannon on a green laurel wreath, in the centre of which, on a red field, are three gold castles surrounded by the words *TALES 14 DE AGOSTO DE 1839* on a yellow band. The ribbon is blue with three red stripes.

MEDAL FOR PERACAMPS 1840. Founded on June 11, 1840, by Isabella II, for the Catalanian army under Don Antonio Van Halen, who took part in the engagements of Casa-Serra, and at Peracamps on April 24 and 28, 1840, during the Carlist troubles. It was of gold for the officers, bearing on the obverse, within an oak and laurel wreath tied with a blue-enamelled ribbon, a trophy



Solsona
Morella

Peracamps
Sept. 1, 1840

of arms and a blue shield inscribed *BATALLAS DE PERACAMPS*. On the reverse oval of blue is *Y 2* encircled by a white band edged with gold, inscribed *24 Y 28 ABRIL 1840*, and displaying two branches of laurel. The ribbon is bright red. A bronze medal for the men was issued without the wreath on the obverse, and carried from a similar ribbon.

CROSS FOR MORELLA 1840. Founded on July 8, 1840, and awarded to the army of the North who were in the operations before and during the siege and capture of the castle of Morella (the stronghold of Cabrera) from the 19th to the 20th of May, 1840, during the Carlist war. These troops had been led by General Espartero, the Duke of Vitoria, who had been declared Regent when Queen Christina had been forced to retire to France. The decoration is a six-pointed red-enamelled gold star, ball-tipped and surmounted by a gold mural crown. On the obverse medallion is a gold tower in a blue field, encircled by the inscription *EJERCITO ESPECIONARIO DEL NORTE*, and on the reverse of blue is a flaming grenade, encircled by the legend *MORELLA 30 DE MAYO DE 1840*. The ribbon is red, edged with white.

CROSS FOR OLMEDILLA 1840. Founded on August 4, 1843, for the troops under D. Manuel de la Concha, Commanding General of Cuenca, Guadalajara and Albaceta, who fought on the heights of Olmedilla, which brilliant action took place on June 15, 1840. The decoration is a four-armed ball-tipped star, enamelled red with white edges surmounted by a wreath. In the obverse centre, on a red field, is Y 2, the cipher of the Queen, around which on a white band is *CONSTANCIA Y SUFRIMIENTO*; and on the reverse, *OLMEDILLA 15 DE JUNIO DE 1840*. The ribbon is blue with two wide white stripes at the sides.

CROSS OF SEPTEMBER 1, 1840. Founded by the Regent on August 12, 1841, for the members of the Juntas and the National Militia who took part in the publication of the Constitution at Madrid on September 1, 1840. It is a "cross" of eight arms, each of which has three stripes and terminates in three points, the inner stripe being of yellow and the outer stripes red. A green laurel wreath is interlaced through the arms. On the obverse medallion of white is the arms of Madrid encircled by a blue band on which are seven gold stars. This, in turn, is encircled by a white band inscribed *PRONUNCIAM. DE 1º DE SET. DE 1840*. On the reverse of gold is

an open book of white, encircled by a white band inscribed *CONSTITUCION DE 1837*. The ribbon is three equal stripes, green, yellow and red.

CROSS FOR CIVIL VALOR. Founded on July 29, 1841, for those citizens who by their patriotism helped to establish in Spain a representative Government. The decoration is a four-armed cross, each arm divided into three sections, each gold-edged and white-enamelled, terminating in a point. There are gold rays in the angles. In the centre of the red-enamelled obverse, within a palm and olive wreath, is a gold medallion, on which, in a square of white, is the inscription *VALOR CIVICO*. The ribbon is red with a narrow black stripe each side.

MEDAL FOR CADIZ 1841. Founded by the Regent on April 17, 1842, for the Militia who took part in the Carlist troubles of October, 1841. It consists of a circular medallion superimposed on two crossed flags (yellow and red) and a green laurel wreath, and surmounted by a gold castle. On the obverse medallion are the pillars of Hercules, with the sun rays and an open book of the Constitution in the field. The reverse medallion is inscribed *LIBERTAD INDEPENDENCIA OCTUBRE 1841*. The ribbon consists of a stripe of yellow edged with red on



Civil Valor
Madrid, Oct. 7th

Cadiz 1841
Castile, Aragon,
Guipuzcoa

the left, and of red edged with yellow on the right.

MEDAL FOR MADRID OCTOBER 7, 1841. Authorized on October 17, 1841, by the Regent, the Duke of Vitoria (General Espartero) for the garrison of Madrid, the National Militia and others who defended Queen Christina against the Carlists, on the night of October 7-8, 1841. It is a bronze gilt medal, surmounted by a royal crown and superimposed on four crossed halberds in pairs. On the obverse, within palm and laurel branches, is a blue oval on which is an open book, inscribed *CONSTITUCION DEL AÑO 1837*, encircled by a white band, reading *DAN SU SANGRE POR LA LEY Y EL TRONO*. On the reverse blue oval is *NOCHE / DEL 7 DE / OCTUBRE / DE 1841*. The ribbon is red with two white stripes each side.

MEDAL FOR PAMPLONA 1841. Founded on October 23, 1841, for the troops of Pamplona who took part in the uprising of the early days of October of that year. It is an oval silver medal having in the centre a crowned lion, rampant, surrounded by a band on which is *A LOS DEFENSORES DE PAMPLONA*. On the plain reverse, within a laurel wreath is *OC-*

TUBRE, 1841. The ribbon is light blue, with a narrow yellow stripe on each side.

CROSSES FOR CASTILE, ARAGON AND GUIPUZCOA 1841. These decorations were founded by the Regent on October 24, 1841, for the troops and National Militia who took part in the suppression of the rebellion of October and November, 1841, in Castile, Aragon and the province of San Sebastian. They are alike, save for the reverse medallion. It is a star of four elongated rays resembling a cross, ball-tipped, green-enamelled and with balls in the angles. The points are connected by oak leaves, thus forming a wreath; and on the obverse square medallion of blue is a gold sun. The reverse medallion is likewise blue. For Castile, the reverse inscription is *A LAS TROPAS FIELES DI CASTILLA LA VIEJA EN 14 DE NOVIEMBRE DE 1841.* For Aragon, *A LAS TROPAS FIELES DE ARAGON Y SU M.N. EN 15 DE NOVIEMBRE DE 1841,* and for Guipúzcoa, it reads *A LAS TROPAS FIELES DE GUIPUZCOA Y SU M.N. EN 27 DE OCTUBRE DE 1841.* The ribbon has equal stripes of white and black, the black being to the right.

CROSS FOR THE JUSTICES OF MADRID 1840-1841. Founded December 29, 1842, for the

justices of the wards of Madrid for their activities and zeal during the troubles of 1840 and 1841, when the queen-mother, Maria Christina had to retire to France, and Espartero was made Regent for the infanta, Isabella II. The decoration is a Maltese cross, ball-tipped and double-pointed, enamelled blue with white edges. In the obverse medallion of blue is *Y 2*, encircled by a white band inscribed *AL ZELO Y ACTIVIDAD*; and on the blue reverse medallion is *A LOS ALCALDES DE BARRIO DE MADRID*. The ribbon is green with a narrow red stripe each side.

CROSS OF JULY 1843. Sculfort, a French writer, gives a short account of this cross, but no other authority mentions it. It is described as a six-pointed blue-enamelled star, surmounted by a mural crown, bearing on the obverse centre a gold tower and the inscription. *LEALTAD CONSTANCIA*, and on the reverse *JULIO DE 1843*.

MEDAL OF ISABELLA II. No Spanish authority has been found for the issuance of this medal, though the writer has two specimens which appear to have been worn. On the edge of one is engraved the name of the recipient, *Bertran Fierros* and on the other *Guillermo Cruz*. The medals are silver, 35 mm. in diameter, having on



Medal for Morocco 1860

the obverse a laureated head of Queen Isabella II, facing right, surrounded by the title *ISABEL 2a REINA DE LAS ESPANAS*. On the reverse is the crowned arms of the queen surrounded by mantling and the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece. The ribbon is three equal stripes, yellow in the centre and red at the sides.

MEDAL FOR MOROCCO 1860. Awarded to troops taking part in the African campaign of that year against the Moors. The decoration is of silver and white metal. A round medal is superimposed on a cross and surmounted by a crown. On the obverse of the medal is a bust of the youthful Queen Isabella II, facing to the left, within a laurel wreath and surrounded by *CAMPAÑA DE AFRICA*; on a scroll below is 1860, and on the lower arm of the cross is an inverted crescent. The reverse is inscribed *SERRALLO / SIERRA-BUILLONES / TORRE-MARTIN / LOS CASTILLEJOS / MONTENEGRON Y ASMIR / CABO NEGRO / KELELI / TETUAN / LARACHE Y ARCILA / SAMSA / UAD-RAS*. The ribbon is red. No Spanish authority has been found for this medal, though the writer has one of silver and one of white metal. It is mentioned by Cuomo, an Italian, and described by Sculfort, a French writer.

CIVIL ORDER OF MARIA VICTORIA. Founded July 7, 1871, by Amadeus I, and awarded by the Minister of Instruction and Public Works, for distinction in the arts and sciences, but owing to the very short reign of Amadeus the order was soon abolished. Amadeus I, the Duke of Aosta, was born at Turin in 1845, the second son of Victor Emmanuel of Savoy. He was called to the Spanish throne as the first Constitutional King of Spain in 1870, after the abdication of Isabella II. He soon wearied of the position owing to the Carlist troubles, and retired in 1873.

The decoration is a four-armed cross, the ends of which are triple-pointed and enamelled red and white, and with rays in the angles. On the arms are the symbols of the four provinces of the kingdom, and in a blue-enamelled centre, edged with gold, is the cipher of the Queen, *M.V.*, within a laurel wreath. On the reverse arms of the cross are the words *CIENCIAS, INDUSTRIA, ARTES, LETRAS*. The plaque of the Grand Cross was a plain Greek cross, enamelled red, superimposed on a white band and a laurel wreath, resting on silver rays. On the extremities of the cross arms are shields bearing the Arms of the provinces of Spain, and in the centre is a gold *M. V.*, crowned. On the white band is inscribed *ARTES, LETRAS, INDUSTRIA, CIENCIAS*.

There were three classes to the Order: the Grand Cross, which had the plaque, Commanders who wore the cross suspended from a ribbon around the neck, and the chevaliers who wore it on the breast with a smaller ribbon. There are thirteen varieties of the ribbon, given by Cuomo, an Italian writer, according to the nature of the award, such as yellow for medicine, red for jurisprudence, black and green for naval construction, etc.

MEDAL FOR 1862. The only information obtainable for this medal is derived from Sculfort, a French writer, who describes the piece in the collection of the Musée de l' Armée, in Paris. It is an oval of gold, encircled by a white band, in the centre of which is an open book inscribed *NIHIL PRIUS FIDE*, encircled by a laurel wreath. On the reverse of the medal is *28 DE MAYO 1862*. The ribbon is described as green with a white stripe in the centre.

MEDAL FOR VOLUNTEERS IN CUBA 1871. No date has been found for the creation of this medal by Amadeus I during his short and troubled reign. It was awarded to the men of the Army and Navy serving in Cuba. It is an oval silver medal within an oak and laurel wreath 60 x 39 mm. including the crown which sur-



Medal for Volunteers in Cuba 1871

mounts the medal. Obverse: the head of the king to left, and the inscription * *AMADEO 1º REY DE ESPAÑA A LOS VOLUNTARIOS DE LAS ISLA DE CUBA* *. Reverse: the arms of Spain charged with those of Savoy and the family of the king, superimposed on the pillars of Hercules bearing the motto *Plus ultra*, between which is a radiant sun, the whole within a wreath, encircled by * *DEFENSORES DE LA HONRA Y DE LA INTEGRIDAD NACIONAL* *, and below, 1871. The ribbon is seven alternate stripes of maroon and orange.

Another medal of silver, 42 x 39 mm. but *without* the crown, has a ribbon of three equal stripes, purple, white and purple; while still another *with* the crown is 44 x 22 mm., but the obverse inscription reads *AMADEO PRIMERO* etc. This has a ribbon similar to the first.

MEDAL FOR VOLUNTEERS IN PORTO RICO. No authority has been found for the issuance of this oval medal which is of silver or bronze-plated, and 30 x 54 mm. including the crown. Obverse: the head of Alfonso XII to left within a linear oval, above which is *INTEGRIDAD DE LA PATRIA*, and below *CONSTANCIA*. Reverse: a Paschal lamb on a rock in water, above which, *F. 1.*, all within a linear oval; below, *VOLUNTARIOS DE PUERTO-RICO*.

The ribbon is red with a wide yellow stripe in the centre.

CROSS FOR CIVIL GUARD OF MADRID 1870-1873. Amadeus I created a decoration for the Civil Guard of Madrid, which protected him during his reign of but three years. From the meagre information obtainable and from the French authority, Eculfort, the decoration is described as bronze, in the form of a narrow-armed cross, the arms of which are connected by a laurel wreath. Around this is a narrow ribbon inscribed *AMADEO I. A LA MILICIA CUIDADANA*. On the reverse is a white enamelled cross and 28 *SBRE. 1868. 28 ENERO 1871*. No ribbon is described.

MEDAL FOR CARRACA 1873. Authorized on October 8, 1873, for the defenders of the arsenal at La Carraca in July of that year. It is in the form of an oval bronze medal, 38 x 31 mm., surmounted by a mural crown, and bearing on the obverse an allegorical figure of Spain, holding a flag in the right hand and supporting an anchor, and the words *LEALTAD DESINTERES VALOR JULIO DE 1873*, encircling the same. On the reverse, within an oak and laurel wreath, is *A LOS DEFENSORES DE LA CARRACA*.

LA PATRIA AGRADECIDA. The ribbon is green with a red edge.

MEDAL OF ALFONSO XII. Founded on September 8, 1875, for the Army and Navy taking part in the Carlist Wars of 1868 to 1876. It is 35 mm. in diameter, of silver or white metal according to the rank. On the obverse is a bust of the King facing left, above which is *ALFONSO XII*; each side and below is *A LOS EJERCITOS EN OPERACIONES*; and on the reverse within a crowned laurel wreath, *VALOR DISCIPLINA LEALTAD*; above—a crown. The ribbon is yellow with two narrow red stripes. Bars are worn on the ribbon, signifying the engagements in which the recipient took part.

MEDAL FOR CIVIL WAR OF 1873-1874. Authorized by Alfonso XII on June 5, 1876, and awarded to the troopers who helped suppress the insurrection led by the Pretender, Don Carlos. This was awarded in silver to the officers and in bronze to the men. On the obverse is an effigy of the King facing left, encircled by *ALFONSO XII. A LOS EJERCITOS VENCADORES DE LOS CARLISTAS Y DEFENSORES DEL ORDEN SOCIAL EN 1873 Y 1874.* On the reverse, within a laurel wreath and surmounted by a crown, is *VALOR / DISCIPLINA /*



Medal for Bilbao, 1874

LEALTAD. The ribbon is red with a narrow yellow stripe in the centre. Bars were issued for the various engagements—those for the Navy were *Cantabria*, *Cadiz* and *Mediterraneo*.

MEDAL FOR BILBAO 1874. Authorized on June 10, 1874, and awarded to the Army and Navy under Marshal Serrano and General Concha who delivered Bilbao from the besieging forces under Don Carlos in May of 1874. The medal is of silver and bronze, in the form of an oval, 40 x 32 mm., in the centre of which is the Arms of the city (a sea wall and narrow tower, with two mules in the upper field) encircled by *AL EJERCITO LIBERTADOR Y DEFENSORES DE LA INVICTA BILBAO 2 DE MAYO DE 1874*. The reverse is plain. The ribbon is red with a yellow stripe in the centre. Bars are worn on the ribbon for the several actions—*Onton*, *Montano*, *Abanto* and *Munecas-Galdames*.

MEDAL OF CITY OF BILBAO 1874. This decoration was given by the city of Bilbao to those who aided in the deliverance of the city from the siege of the Carlists. It is of bronze, bearing on the obverse an allegorical seated figure, representing the city, protected by a warrior. Below is a view of the city, and the legend *HONOR PATRIA Y LIBERTAD*. On the re-

verse, within an oak and laurel wreath, *BILBAO A SUS DEFENSORES SITIO DE 1874*. The ribbon is red, edged with yellow. Sculfort, the French writer, is the only authority who mentions this medal.

MEDAL FOR PUIGCERDA 1874. Created by Alfonso XII on September 8, 1874, for the troops taking part in the Carlist war, at Sagunto, Numancia, Gerona and Tarragona. It is a bronze medal having on the obverse the motto, *LOS DEFENSORES DE PUIGCERDA, LA PATRIA RECONCIDA. AGOSTO Y SEPTIEMBRE DE 1874*, and on the reverse the Arms of the city. The ribbon is half red and half yellow.

MEDAL FOR TERUEL 1874. Created on July 4, 1874, for the defenders of the city during the Carlist war. It is bronze, bearing on the obverse the Arms of the city and encircled by the inscription *A LOS DEFENSORES DE TERUEL, LA PATRIA AGRADECIDA. 3 DE JULIO DE 1874*. The reverse is plain. The ribbon is half yellow and half red.

MEDAL OF CERVERA 1875. By a Royal Decree of June 12, 1875, authority was given the city of Cervera in Navarra, to issue a medal for

those who took part in the defense of the city on February 16, 1875, against the Carlists. Although de Sosa mentions it, he gives no description.

MEDAL OF MADRID 1876. This was apparently awarded by the Province of, or city of, Madrid for those assisting in the civil disturbances of that period. It is bronze, shield-shaped, 48 x 29 mm., surmounted by a closed wreath tied with a wide ribbon. On the obverse is the head of Alfonso XII to right, and the inscription *ALFONSO XII REY DE ESPANA*. The reverse bears the Arms of Madrid crowned and the inscription *LA PROVINCIA DE MADRID AGRADECIDA A SUS HIJOS 1876*. The ribbon is half red and half yellow. No authority has been found for its creation.

MEDAL FOR CUBA 1868-1878. This was founded on June 27, 1873, and later awarded to the Army and Navy taking part in the suppression of the insurrections on that island during these ten years. It is of silver and white-metal, diamond-shaped, and encircled by palm and laurel branches entwined with a narrow ribbon. On the obverse is an allegorical figure representing Spain, seated before the pillars of Hercules and two globes, holding in the right hand a laurel wreath and with the left hand resting on a shield bearing



Medal for Cuba 1868-1878

the Spanish Arms, with a ship at sea in the field. In the exergue is *CAMPAÑA DE CUBA*. On the plain reverse is *ESPAÑA AL VALIENTE EJERCITO QUE PELEA EN DEFENSA DE LA PATRIA 1873*. The ribbon is red with a narrow black stripe in the centre, and narrow silver bars are worn on the ribbon showing the number of years in service.

MEDAL FOR CUBAN VOLUNTEERS 1868-1878, 1882. Created on July 22, 1882, and awarded to volunteers who took part in the insurrections of those years. It is a round silver medal with fleurs-de-lis at the sides, forming a cross. In the centre of the medal is the head of Alfonso, facing left, and the inscription *ALFONSO XII A LOS VOLUNTARIOS DE CUBA 1882*. The reverse reads *CONSTANCIA PATRIOTISMO ABNEGACION*. The ribbon is red, with a yellow stripe in the centre, on which the bars are worn denoting years of service, such as *10 Anos de Servicio*, *15 Anos de Servicio*, etc.

MEDAL FOR JOLO 1876. Authorized on October 7, 1876, for the troops who took part in the campaign against the Sultan of Jolo in the Philippines. On the obverse is the laureated head of the King, facing left, and the words *ALFONSO XII 1876*. On the reverse is the word

Jolo surmounted by a cross in a glory and encircled by a laurel wreath entwined with a ribbon inscribed, *PATICOLO, TAPUL, CACUTLA-PAC, PARANG, MAYBUN, LIANG*. Below this is an inverted crescent. The ribbon is of three red and two yellow vertical stripes equal in width.

MEDAL FOR MINDANAO. Founded October 7, 1895, for the troops taking part in suppressing the insurrection of the Tagals in 1890-1891, and against Emilio Aguinaldo in 1894-1895. This was of iron, bordered with a circle of gilt metal, bearing on the obverse the busts of the Queen and the youthful King (Alfonzo XIII) facing right and the words *CAMPANAS DE MINDANAO*, and on the reverse within a palm and laurel wreath the dates, *1890-1891, 1894-1895*. The ribbon is yellow with two green lateral stripes, and bars were given, showing the years of service.

MEDAL FOR VOLUNTEERS IN PHILIPPINES. This is described by but one authority, Sculfort, of Paris. Said to have been awarded the troops volunteering in the insurrection of Aguinaldo in 1897. It is an oval silver medal, bearing on the obverse the Arms of the Empire of the Indies, and the words, *ESPAÑA A SUS*

LEALES HIJOS LOS VOLUNTARIOS FILIPINOS and on the reverse is *VOLUNTARIOS NOVILIZADOS POR DECRETO DE 16 DE OCTUBRE 1897*. The ribbon is half red with yellow borders.

MEDAL FOR LUZON 1896-1897.. Authorized on January 26, 1898, and awarded to the troops employed in suppressing the insurrection on the island of Luzon. It is of bronze. On the obverse is the youthful bust of the King, Alfonso XIII, facing right, and the words *A LOS LEALES VOLUNTARIOS E FILIPINAS*. The reverse reads, *CAMPAÑA / DE / LUZON / 1896-1897*. The ribbon is half yellow and half red.

MEDAL FOR PHILIPPINES 1896-1898. Authorized on January 26, 1898, and awarded to the troops who took part in the campaigns of those years; and, later, in the Spanish-American War. It is issued in bronze, is shield-shaped and surmounted by a gilt laurel wreath. It bears on the obverse the youthful bust of the King to left, and the words *ALFONSO XIII AL EJERCITO DE FILIPINAS*. The reverse is inscribed *VALOR / DISCIPLINA Y LEALTAD / 1896-1898*, and the ribbon is of four red and four yellow stripes, with bars for the various engagements.

MEDAL FOR CUBA 1895-1898. Created by Royal Decree of February 1, 1899, and awarded to the troops who took part in the Second Insurrection and in the war with the United States. It is of bronze, edged with laurel, surmounted by a gilt royal crown, bearing on the obverse the busts of the Queen and the youthful King, Alfonso XIII, surrounded by *CAMPAÑA DE CUBA 1895-1898*; and on the reverse the cipher of the King encircled by *AL EJERCITO DE OPERACIONES*. The ribbon is of five equal stripes of purple and four of red. Bars are worn on the ribbon, denoting engagements, such as *Santiago de Cuba*.

MEDAL FOR CUBAN VOLUNTEERS 1895-1898. Authorized at the same time and awarded to the native Cubans taking part in the above campaigns. It is similar to the above save that on the obverse the inscription is *A LOS LEALES VOLUNTARIOS DE CUBA*, and on the reverse the inscription is *CAMPAÑA DE CUBA 1895-1898*. The ribbon also is similar.

MEDAL OF ALFONSO XIII. Founded June 19, 1902, by the King to reward the officials and troops taking part in guarding the royal family and to commemorate his taking the oath of office in Madrid on May 17, 1902. It was

issued in gold, silver and bronze, and bears on the obverse the bust of the King, facing left, and his title *ALPHONSVS XIII D. G. HISP. REX*. On the reverse, within oak and laurel branches is *17 MAI 1902*, crowned. The ribbon is red and suspended from a buckle of the same metal as the medal.

MEDAL OF MARIA CHRISTINA or of the REGENCY. One year after taking the oath of office, King Alfonso created this medal—May 16, 1903—in testimony of his personal gratitude to his Royal Mother and to commemorate her seventeen years of service as Regent. The medal of silver was given to the officials of the Court and royal household, while the bronze medal was given to the Royal Guards and servants of the court and household. On the obverse are the jugated busts of the Queen Mother and the youthful King, facing left, encircled by the inscription, *M. CHRIST. HISP. REG. CATH. PIETATE AC PRUDENTIA EXIMIAE MATRIDI LECTAE*. The ribbon is blue with a wide red stripe in the center.

MEDAL OF MELILLA 1909, 1911 and 1912. Founded by Royal Decrees of March 20, 1910, and Sept. 8, 1912, for troops who took part in the several campaigns in the territory of the Rif, in Northern Africa. It is an oval silver,



Medal for Melilla
(Reverse)

Medal for Morocco
(Obverse)

or bronze, medal, surmounted by a crown, bearing on the obverse the bust of the King, facing left, wearing a spiked helmet, and encircled by a laurel wreath; the lower side reads, *CAMPAÑA DEL RIF*; and on the reverse is a figure of a winged Victory holding aloft a palm branch in the right hand, and below a laurel branch in the left hand. In the field is a fort and radiant sun. On the lower field are the Arms of Spain and of Melilla, with laurel branches and 1909; at the top is *REINANDO DON ALFONSO XIII*. The ribbon is yellow with a red stripe each side, and bars are issued for the various engagements, such as *Sidi-Hamet-el Hach, Gurugu, Quebdana, Taxdirt-Hidum-Zoco el Had, Nador Zeluan-Zoco el Gemis, Atlaten, Penon-Alhuccmas, Kert, Garet de Beni-bu-Yahi, Beni-bu-Gafar y Beni-Sidel*.

MEDAL FOR AFRICA 1911. Founded by Royal Decree on September 8, 1912, as acknowledgment of important civil and military services rendered in Africa, in promoting the establishment of the Protectorate. It is of bronze, 35 mm., and bears on the obverse a bust of the King and the words *ESPAÑA Y AFRICA*. Reverse: an allegorical figure of Spain with the right hand on the royal shield and the left extended to the Rif coast of Africa. The ribbon is yellow and red, edged with green. Bars are issued to be



Military Medal

worn on the ribbon for the various engagements—*Casablanca, Larache, Larache-Alcazar* and *Ceuta*.

MEDAL FOR MOROCCO. Created June 29, 1916, by Royal Decree, for the troops who took part in the campaigns of that region. It is an oval silvered-bronze, or bronze medal, 40 x 28 mm., bearing on the obverse the bust of the King, Alfonso XIII, facing left, wearing a spiked helmet and encircled by a laurel wreath—at the lower left is *MARRUECOS*. The reverse is similar to the medal of Melilla 1909-11-12, save that the 1909 is omitted. The ribbon is green, and bars are given for the different engagements—*Larache, Melilla, Tetuan, Ceuta*.

MILITARY MEDAL. Founded on June 29, 1918, by Alfonso XIII, and awarded to officers and enlisted men of the Army and Navy for meritorious service in action. It is of oxidized iron, 42 mm., and bears in the centre of the obverse an allegorical female figure representing Spain, holding a laurel wreath in her right hand, and in the left hand supporting a shield on which are two lions' heads. In the field is the sea, land and the setting sun. Encircling this design is a silver band and a laurel wreath. At the top is a castle, and at the bottom of the wreath is a plate bearing in relief, *AL MERITO EN CAMPAÑA*. The

reverse bears a crowned shield on which is the arms of Spain with a palm one side and a sword the other; below this, on the plate is the name of the Campaign, such as *MARRUECAS, etc.* The ribbon is white, edged with yellow; in the centre are the national colours—one yellow stripe in the centre, and red each side. There is a gilt bar-pin. In case of a second award being bestowed, an oxidized iron bar is added to the ribbon.

MEDAL OF THE SOMATENES OF CATALUNA 1918. Created by Royal Decree of February 6, 1918, as a reward to the armed Somatenes of Cataluna for their service in preserving peace and social order in that district. It is called the medal of Constancy, and is a three-armed cross, enamelled red with white edges, on a wreath of olive branches. The upper arm of the cross is surmounted by a gold crown, to which is attached the suspension ring. On the obverse centre medallion is depicted the Virgin of Monserrat, the guardian of the Somatenes. In the blue background is shown the mountains surrounding her sanctuary. Encircling the medallion is a white band inscribed *SOMATENES ARMADOS DE CATALUNA*. On the reverse medallion is *PAU, PAU, Y SEMPRE PAU* (Peace, peace and always peace), encircled by a red band inscribed *CONSTANCIA, PATRIO-*

TISMO, ABNEGACION. The ribbon is purple, and bars are issued denoting the length of service.

CARLIST MEDALS.

After Ferdinand VII abolished the Salic law in Spain in 1829, and following the placing of the Infanta Isabella II on the throne as Queen in 1833, there was much trouble with the adherents of Don Carlos V. This continued through the reign of Isabella II and that of Amadeus I, who wearied of his position as Constitutional King and retired in 1873. During his three-year reign, the Duke of Madrid, Don Carlos VII, the Pretender and chief of the Carlist party, gave much trouble to the Government by claiming the right of succession and raising the standard of revolt in the Basque Provinces. This Carlist War lasted several years and was not suppressed until 1876 by Alfonso XII.

It is natural that the Carlists should have desired some form of decoration to indicate their loyalty and their participation in the several attempts to secure the throne. Don Carlos VII not only prepared to coin money, but authorized medals and decorations for his adherents. No Spanish authority has been found for these, but Elvin, an English writer, mentions certain of them, and the description of others is taken from



Cross for Villar de los Navarros

the pieces themselves. They are included to afford the student information regarding them. Some writers class them as Spanish, although they are not official.

CROSS FOR VILLAR DE LOS NAVARROS. Given to the troops of Don Carlos V who took part in this battle in Lower Aragon on August 24, 1837, against the Spanish forces under the Cristino General Buerens. The medal is said to have been designed by H.R.H. the Infante Don Sebastian Gabriel, the nephew of Don Carlos V, who commanded the Carlist forces. The decoration is a four-armed cross of white and red enamel, formed by lances with pennons, and with two cannon and a musket in gold forming another cross on the cross arms, and swords in the angles. This is surmounted by a green laurel wreath, across which is a scroll inscribed *VILLAR DE LOS NAVARROS*. On the obverse medallion is a hermitage surmounted by a cross, with one in front, encircled by a band inscribed *CANADA DE LA CRUZ*; and on the reverse centre of which is *C.5* within laurel branches, and surmounted by a crown, encircled by a red band inscribed *DIA 24 DE AGOSTO DE 1837*. The ribbon is violet with two white stripes at either side.



Cross for Huesca 1837

CROSS FOR HUESCA 1837. Conferred by Don Carlos V on the troops who took part in this battle in upper Aragon on May 24, 1837, it is a four-armed cross, formed of scrolls bearing grenades, with helmets and crossed muskets in the angles. This is surmounted by two crossed pennons of red and white, and a green laurel wreath, in which is *C. V.* On the obverse medallion of blue is *HUESCA*, surrounded by a white band inscribed in gold letters *ESPEDICION REAL*; and on the reverse medallion of blue is *1837*, encircled by a white band inscribed *24 DE MAYO*. The ribbon is yellow with three violet stripes at either side.

CROSS AND MEDAL OF CARLOS VII. Founded by Don Carlos VII in 1874, and awarded to officers and men who remained faithful to the Carlist cause between 1833 and 1840, and during the second campaign of 1872-1876. It is a white-enamelled cross pattée moline, with gold edges and surmounted by a gold crown. A green laurel wreath connects the arms, and on the obverse medallion are the arms of Castile, Leon and Bourbon, enamelled in natural colours and surrounded by a white band inscribed *CARLOS VII POR LA GRACIA DE DIOS REY DE LAS ESPANAS*, and on the arms of the cross, *ABNEGACION, VIRTUD, TALENTO, LEALTAD*,



Cross and Medal of Carlos VII

PATRIA DIOS REY 1874. On the blue reverse medallion is *C 7*, with a white encircling band inscribed *RESTAURACION CATOLICO MON-ARQUICA*. The ribbon is yellow with red edges.

The silver medal for privates is similar to the cross, with no enamel. The ribbon is the same as for the officers.

CARLIST ORDER OF CHARITY. Founded in 1874 by Don Carlos VII, awarded for charitable acts and especially for hospital work among the forces. The decoration is a red-enamelled Maltese cross with small white-enamelled flowers in the angles, and surmounted by a crown connected by two scrolls, like *C*'s, for the attachment of a suspension ring and ribbon, which is white with a black stripe at either side. The obverse medallion, of white, bears in the centre a red heart with a crown of thorns around it and a cross above. On the encircling band is *LA CARIDAD 1874*. The reverse medallion bears a red-enamelled *M* for Mary. This order is not recognized in Spain, and, like the other Carlist decorations, is not allowed in official dress.

MEDAL FOR MONTEJURRA 1873. This is a bronze medal in the form of a Greek cross with fleurs-de-lis in the angles and surmounted by a royal crown, bearing on the large round centre



Medal for Montejurra

Medal for Vizcaya

medallion the date of the engagement, 7, 8, 9, *NOVIEMBRE 1873*, encircled by the words *PATROCINIO DE LA SMA VIRGEN*; and on the arms of the cross is *PATRIA DIOS REY*. The reverse is plain. The ribbon is red. Padiglione and Sculfort are the only writers who mention this medal, and no Spanish authority for its foundation has been found. No data is given regarding its authorization or the purposes of its award.

MEDAL FOR VIZCAYA 1874. Awarded to the troops who took part in operations by the Carlists at Vizcaya and who were compelled to flee to the North. The decoration is bronze, round, and edged with a laurel wreath and three fleurs-de-lis, to form a cross, and surmounted by a royal crown. On the obverse is a laureated bust of the Pretender, Don Carlos VII, facing right, encircled by the words *A LA FE Y AL HEROISMO DEL EJERCITO REAL DEL NORTE*. The reverse reads *BATALLAS / DE / VIZCAYA / DE / ENERO A MAYO / 1874*. No description is given for the ribbon, and no Spanish authority has been found for the medal. It is described by Sculfort and Padiglione only. The writer has a specimen of this medal in his collection.

NOTES

1. From the *War Medal Record*, Vol. I, Spink & Son, London, 1896.
2. Cf. King, *Military Orders in Spain*, p. 172, ff.
3. Burke and Archer state that Alphonso Henrique (1112-1185) established the order in Portugal.
4. Denis was King of Portugal from 1279 to 1325.
5. The Pillars of Hercules or "World's End" were represented by the Greek geographers as the Capes of Calpe, in Spain, and Abyla, in Africa, at the western entrance to the Mediterranean. For centuries, these were the limits of enterprise to the seafaring men of the Eastern World.

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NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

No. 32



THE COINAGE OF METAPONTUM

(PART ONE)

BY
SYDNEY P. NOE

THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
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THE COINAGE OF METAPONTUM

BY
SYDNEY P. NOE



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METAPONTUM

I

FOREWORD.

The following pages, comprising the initial portion of a classification of the coinage of Metapontum, deal with the incuse coinage of that city, as the first natural division. This material can make no claim to being a corpus, although all of the large national collections have been studied either from the coins themselves or from casts, and all of the important private collections to which access was possible, have also paid tribute. In consequence, the debt of obligation to the custodians and owners of these collections is a heavy one. I am grateful for the courtesies shown me by the authorities of the British Museum and especially by Mr. Hill and Mr. E. S. G. Robinson. At the Bibliothèque Nationale, both M. Babelon and his son were helpful. Dr. MacDonald gave generously of his time to permit me to examine the Metapontine coins of the Hunterian collection. At Naples and at the Athens National Numismatic Museum especial consideration was shown me. The Cabinets at Berlin, Vienna and Leningrad have been generous in providing casts. Considerable benefit and great pleasure came with

ms

the opportunity to inspect the coins of Metapontum in the collections of M. Jameson (Paris), Baron Pennisi (Acireale), Mr. G. Empedocles (Athens) and Sir Arthur J. Evans. In America, the pieces in the collections of the members of the American Numismatic Society have been freely placed at my disposal.

Messrs. Spink & Son very kindly sent me for examination and study, the portion of the Taranto Hoard which was still in their possession and this comprised a considerable number of the pieces of Metapontum found. Dr. Jacob Hirsch courteously made arrangements whereby casts of the specimens of these coins in several of the Geneva sales were sent me.

There was great benefit for me in helpful discussion of some of my problems with M. Vlasto. Nearer at home there has been frequent recourse to the experience of Mr. Wood, my colleague on the staff of the Museum of the American Numismatic Society, in questions of die-varieties or alterations. My heaviest debt, however, is to the interest and aid given constantly by Mr. Edward T. Newell, who not only placed his important private collection of the coins of this city in my hands for study, but whose advice and sound judgment have contributed mightily to the results now submitted. Others whose support has been not inconsiderable will, I trust, take satisfaction in the

record which follows of the effort to co-ordinate the beautiful coinage of this Greek colony in Southern Italy.

A final explanation should be presented. When this work was first considered in the early part of 1921, I learned through Dr. Regling that a study of this coinage had been begun by Professor Lauri O. T. Tudeer of Helsingfors. After some correspondence Professor Tudeer withdrew from the field reserving for himself the question of the overstruck pieces only. His action has laid me under a very heavy obligation and until a short time ago it had been the hope of our Publication Committee that his article might precede my own. He has promised its completion at an early date.

communal houses rather than places in which to store costly gifts or offerings. For this reason, that the treasury of Metapontum at Olympia was associated with those of such cities as Sybaris, Megara, Syracuse, Gela and Sicyon is stronger testimony of Metapontum's importance than that it should have filled such a structure with "treasure".

Pythagoras was received with honor at Metapontum after having fled from Croton, but little can be deduced from this. Nor can we gain a great deal from the statement that Metapontum sent two ships to the aid of Athens against Syracuse,¹² unless we are to adjudge this number as either the maximum possible or the minimum they were willing to risk. So too with the reference to Aristetas,¹³ although this may have a bearing on one of the coin types, as we shall see later.

THE NEIGHBORING CITIES.

An effort to visualize the status of these Achaean colonies before B. C. 510 should prove suggestive.

The size and wealth of Sybaris must have given that city a predominance over her neighbors, some of which were, like Metapontum, founded by her. If we seek the foundation of the growth and wealth of Sybaris in her commercial relations, it is fairly obvious that her land-trade must have

been of greater importance than her traffic by sea. Her pre-eminence has been attributed to having control over the shortest and easiest of the routes between the Ionian and Tyrrhenian Seas, over the narrow instep of the great boot of the Italian peninsula.¹⁴ Trade rivalry with Siris, a city controlling a rival trans-isthmus route, is usually accepted as the reason for the destruction of that city at the hands of Sybaris, Croton and Metapontum—although this may not have been the sole cause. It is entirely possible that the demands of her Etruscan and other markets on the Tyrrhenian shore absorbed the entire supply of what Sybaris had to offer, as well as other commodities purchased from the Achaean cities—such as grain from Metapontum—material which Sybaris could transport over the shorter road within her control more economically than any of her neighbors.

Miletus was in close relationship with Sybaris, and there is evidence that this had some commercial basis. Whether it was sufficiently extensive to give Sybaris any considerable advantage as an *entrepreneur* is not apparent, but whatever the commodity, Sybaris had a double market—her Greek neighbors and the Etruscans. Furthermore she was able to prevent the latter, and in all probability the Greeks as well, from having direct contact with Miletus, and thus could exact a double profit on a single transaction. Speck states that

the woolen fabrics of Miletus were exchanged for grain.¹⁵

Save for the Milesian and other Ionian cities, and with the important exception of trade among themselves, which must have been considerable, the only sea market open to these Greeks of South Italy would have been the mother country. The Achaeans were a farming rather than a maritime people, and this characteristic the colonies shared. None of them possessed a large natural haven—Tarentum was Dorian, and controlled the only secure harbor. Sicily and the straits of Messina were in the control of the Chalcidians, and the Adriatic was under the sway of the Corinthians. The size of the ships and the consequent smallness of their cargoes would necessitate the carrying of some commodity of high value within small compass before its worth would be such as to exert much economic pressure. The income of these cities must therefore have been from their landward side. It would not be surprising to have archaeologists at some future day find evidence that there was mineral wealth in these mountains—Lenormant states that silver mines were operated in southern Italy up to the time that the discovery of America's store made their operation no longer profitable.

The fall of Sybaris brought many important changes. It is hardly likely that any of the other

cities could have continued the contact with the Milesian market, and only sixteen years intervened before Miletus fell to the Persians. The sheltered position of South Italy during the period the Greeks were fighting the hosts of Darius and the Sicilians the Carthaginians, has slight bearing on the period of the incuse coinage. Before passing to the issues of Metapontum, it is desirable that we examine the coinage of this group of cities to see what evidence their money may have for their history.

THE INCUSE FABRIC.

The fabric of the incuse coins used in common by almost all of the Achaean cities before the fall of Sybaris, was accepted by Lenormant as cause for thinking that there must have been a monetary confederation, and the issues in this form of Dorian Tarentum and Chalcidian Rhegium—trade rivals of the other cities—did not deter him. Dr. George Macdonald has shown,¹⁶ however, that there are other serious objections, the chief of which is the variation in the weight standards within the presumed confederation. He seeks an explanation in some practical consideration—adopting Mr. Hill's idea that the form may have been dictated by a desire to stack or pack the coins.¹⁷ The difficulty in the way of accepting this will be evident if one tries to "stack" even a

few of the staters of Sybaris or Metapontum—they form a very unstable column. Is it possible that we may find some better and more practical explanation?

What has been said of the preëminence of Sybaris, at once suggests the probability that this city was the originator of the incuse fabric. Metapontum and Poseidonia were both colonies of Sybaris, and it is hardly likely that they would have instituted the form. Croton or Caulonia might have initiated this style of coining, but neither were of a size or importance to have their practice seized upon by their so much larger neighbor. It seems, strangely enough, to have been a spontaneous invention and to have been evolved without any evolutionary development. Mr. Head's position¹⁸ that the swastika-incuse issues of Corinth were used as a model does not carry full conviction. Possibly the trade relations between Magna Graecia and Corinth may have brought the germ of the idea, but the hiatus between the two forms is too great to say that the one is derived from the other. We have one of these Corinthian issues used for the flan of a late Metapontum stater of the thickened type which must have been struck about 490 B. C., and the idea that it had been the pattern would imply that the Corinthian piece had been in circulation more than sixty years before restriking.

Having only the slight value which attaches to negative evidence, is the circumstance that these pieces have seldom or never been found in hoards unearthed outside Italy. This carries the suggestion that the consideration of preventing the export of money and, consequently, of restricting its circulation to South Italy must have been prominent in the minds of those responsible for originating the form. Again, we rarely find these incuse pieces overstruck. Any attempt to attribute the form to Pythagoras will have to take into consideration that he must have left Samos a fairly considerable number of years after the earliest issues.

There is one circumstance in this incuse coinage as a whole that is of help in our study of the issues of Metapontum. It affords in certain cases a parallel evolution, but Croton alone covers satisfactorily the same period as Metapontum. The destruction of Sybaris in 510 is invaluable as a dating criterion. Up to that time, the coins of Sybaris were of the wide, thin flans, although examination reveals a barely perceptible diminution in the size of the flans, but, more particularly, in the size of the dies.

We should be under no illusion that we have a complete or even an approximately complete series of these incuse coins. The next hoard of them that is unearthed will, doubtless, provide

pieces from dies whose like has never been seen before. It follows almost without saying, therefore, that there can be no claim to completeness for this material, even though we try to record all the varieties at present in cabinets devoted to Greek coins.

Whether what we now have sufficiently approaches completeness to permit a probable reconstruction of the coinage of Metapontum, is quite another question, the answer to which is obviated by the fact that we must obtain what benefit we can from the facts in hand. Should additional facts at some future time make rearrangement of this material necessary, it will have provided in the meantime means for the identification and, perhaps, for the further classification of the issues of this city.

THE MINTING PROCESS.

Turning to the coins of Metapontum, in the light of the evidence afforded by the coins themselves, it is at once apparent that they are struck from a pair of inter-locking dies. The cutting of the obverse die would be comparatively simple. It is in the reverse die that difficulties are met, and this is due especially to the circumstance that the ear is in such high relief. In some of the specimens, the high point of the middle row of grains is 4 mm. from the field. If the reader is

interested in the technical discussion which follows, he will be greatly aided by taking one of these incuse staters and making an impression of the reverse in sealing wax or any soft modeling wax or plastolene. Failing that, if he will take one of our plates and conceive of the lighting for the reverses as coming from the direction opposite to that actually used; through an optical illusion the reverse of the coin will appear as though in relief and consequently like the die itself. He can then follow the argument with sufficient closeness.

To cut the reverse die directly, the die-cutter would have had to remove the entire surface of the die, with the exception of the ear itself and the rim, and he would have had to cut to a depth equal to the relief of the highest point of the ear. In other words, about three-quarters of the surface to a uniform depth of nearly 4 mm. would have to be removed and all of the delicate portions of the relief would have to be left untouched, including the rim as well as the awns. This feat is not impossible, but that it could have been carried out for so extended a coinage without having left some traces is almost inconceivable. Was there any other manner of preparing the die which was open to our artist?

We know very little about ancient dies, especially Greek ones, because almost none that are above suspicion have come down to us. Mr. G. F.

Hill, in a very carefully thought-out article on ancient methods of coining,¹⁹ summarizes the evidence to be drawn from them. We do not know whether the ancient dies were of steel or of bronze hardened in a manner with which we are not acquainted, and as much depends upon knowing this, our reasoning has to be speculative. It seems probable that some method of hardening the dies was known, just as some method of annealing the silver flans to be struck seems to have been practiced. The circumstances because of which it is impossible to believe that the reverse dies were cut directly at Metapontum, i.e., in relief (cameo) have just been cited. All of these difficulties would be eliminated, however, if what is known as a "hub" in the making of modern medals were used. From the hub, which is the negative of the die, a die can be struck and hardened. Being the negative of the reverse die (which we have seen is in high relief), the hub for this reverse would have to be cut intaglio, just as the obverse had been and as all the gems of this period were cut. If tempering was practiced, the obverse die and the reverse hub would be cut intaglio in the untempered metal and later hardened. Into this hardened hub, the reverse die, probably in a heated state, would have been driven. The die so obtained was then finished and after hardening was ready for use.

If the reverse die was forced into a "steel" hub in a heated state it would have "drawn the temper" of that hub; that is, its heated condition would have burnt out the carbon of the hub and softened it. Unless the ancients had a knowledge of re-tempering such a hub, it could not have been used again. The reverse dies are fully as numerous as the obverse ones and no evidence of re-using these hubs has been found, although we have reverse dies showing re-cutting (Classes IX and X), and obverse dies with alterations (Cf. Nos. 1-4 and 151). We can hardly escape the conclusion, in the light of these facts, that the "hub" which has been postulated was used simply to get around the difficulty of cutting the reverse die directly in relief.

THE INCUSE FORMAT ELSEWHERE.

If we have reached a conviction that hubs were used at Metapontum, it does not follow that this method was used for the entire incuse coinage of South Italy. Where the reverse is very deep, the same reasons in favor of hubs found for Metapontine coins apply, but the shallow incuse coins of Poseidonia and Caulonia give one pause, and make a more careful and detailed examination of them advisable before forming an opinion. The engraved details for the coins of both of these

cities, such as the trident and drapery for Poseidonia and the horns of the stag for Caulonia, as well as the inscriptions, could have been added to the die whether it had been prepared from a hub or cut directly. The herring-bone rim could also have been cut either way—a circumstance which is not true of the reverse awns of the Metapontine dies. Certain of the Poseidonia pieces have very shallow incuses and the design is limited to two planes, the second of which is only slightly separated from the other. These would not present the difficulties of modelling which the barley ear provides at Metapontum or the bull at Sybaris. In favor of the hubbing theory, however, certain of the dies which do not have such simple treatment of the design (Pl. 23, G, H, I) must be cited. Here there is cause for believing that the bungling nature of the modelling could have been due to nothing else than an attempt to cut the die directly and the contrast of this crudity with more usual finish of the other dies supports the position that hubs were customary.

The first coin illustrated on Pl. xxiii—the beautiful stater in the collection of M. Vlasto—shows the procedure at Tarentum, where but few of the *incusi* were struck. Note on the reverse, that the lines of the breast, the strings of the lyre, and the locks of the hair are in relief on the coin, and were therefore cut intaglio on the

die. Had the die been cut direct, these elements would have had to be kept in mind from the very beginning, and the whole planned accordingly. In the stater of Sybaris with the locust (B), note the wealth of linear detail—it is hard to conceive that these lines were cut other than intaglio on the die after it came from the hub. In the $\Gamma\Lambda\Lambda$ piece (D), note that the reverse rim must have been done similarly—i.e., after the die had come from the hub with a simple raised rim, this attempt to reproduce a cable border was made by counter-sinking the dots and by engraving the tiny lines between them; both the dots and the lines are in relief on the coin. In the piece from Poseidonia (F), the inscription, the trident, the details of the drapery, the features and the lines of the torso are all in relief. Note that the drapery passes behind the body, just as on the obverse—on many of the reverses of Poseidonia, it passes in front of the figure. In the stater of Croton shown, from the Hunterian collection, note that the reverse decorations of an octopus and a dolphin have no relation to the crab of the obverse.

Referring to Plate xii, it will be seen that Class VIII of the incuse ears consists entirely of what have been called “imitations”. There seems to have been an attempt with at least three of these reverse dies to cut them directly, just as has been described for the late issues of Caulonia.

As a result, the barley ear is very crude and the manner of cutting the awns and the border is entirely misunderstood. The awns have been engraved in the die and therefore show in relief on the coins. The border has been formed by leaving a flat rim which has been cut across at unequal intervals giving a result that is coarse and irregular. Some of the other coins on this plate leave the impression that they may have been from official dies which had fallen into unworthy hands and had been re-worked. No single explanation serves for all of them, but the treatment of the border and the awns at once reveals the novice's hand and furnishes a basis for the conclusion that the incuse format may have been a means of keeping counterfeiters from imitating these issues. A variety which had not come to my attention until after Plate xii was finished is reproduced herewith—No. 154c.

The issue for Croton and Pandosia is another latent argument for the hub theory. Please note (Pl. xxiii, E) that the bull of the reverse is in relief on a sunken rectangular field. Had it not been for the fixed idea of the die-cutter that there must be an incuse element to force the metal into the die—that is, had he not been unconscious that this result would have been accomplished with equal effectiveness by cutting the design in the surface plane of the die, rather than in the inta-

glio reserve—the piece would have differed not at all from the usual double-relief issues which must have followed it very closely.

DIE ALTERATIONS.

The difficulties of working with the incuse pieces of Metapontum may have been one reason for their apparent neglect. Aside from double striking and poor preservation there are handicaps due to poor casts or worse photographs. In addition there is the question of altered dies to make further complications. One rather more than usually involved case occurs at the very beginning. In number 1, the obverse die shows signs of a break above the apex of the ear and just inside the border. To eliminate these, the border was re-cut and fortunately there are traces of the older border which are still to be discerned. These remedies, however, did not prove sufficient, for in a third state we have the ear apparently cut deeper in the die and the field on either side, including the section occupied by the awns, planed down and the awns re-cut. Previous to this planing down the inscription had been preserved by deepening with tiny punch marks or drill holes and these are to be seen in specimen 1 c together with the traces of the awns at the previous angle in the field to the left. In the last change, the inscription has been made linear. On the reverse, pos-

sibly the old one, but apparently the third used with this obverse, the inscription has been engraved in the die and therefore shows itself raised on the coin. Changes so extensive as these were not frequent in the incuse coinage, or if they were, traces of them, with a few exceptions, have been obliterated. One of these exceptions is the obverse of No. 151 (Pl. xii). Here not only traces of the earlier awns are to be seen but in the field to the left may be discerned the outline of one of the divided inscriptions. $\overline{\text{TA}}$: is quite plain and strange to say, no coin with the letters in this position has as yet been found by me.

It is the reverse dies which oftenest show alterations and many of these have to do with the border which had to withstand the tendency of the silver to spread in striking. Number 22 shows a reverse die that is broken across the inscription. Number 43 shows a reverse die from which a segment has broken in the field to the right. In Class III, however, where the raised rim becomes more regular we find sections of this rim occasionally shearing off as in number 76. When this occurs, because there is nothing to force the metal into the obverse die, the obverse border shows a blank for the space involved, which, in number 76 happens to be just below that occupied by the inscription. In Class IV, a number of the specimens show very considerable skill in mending such

breaks of the reverse rim. Number 89 is a case in point and others will be found with numbers 96 and elsewhere. With casts of two or three specimens from the same die it is often possible to notice the development of the flaws and the means used to check further spreading of the fracture. Another form of break for the reverse die is shown in number 87 where the high points of the ear have flaked away leaving the coin filled in throughout the middle row of grains. This is partly due to the boldness of the relief and the size of the flan and possibly also to the incautious pairing of dies, the one imperfectly interlocking with the other. Under such conditions the grains are sometimes found worn through, leaving a hole, but because such coins are not considered desirable by numismatists, they are met with only infrequently. Another form of break which is much rarer is to be observed in number 93 where in the obverse die starting at the base of the ear, a seam has opened which extends above the inscription in the field to the left and along the cable border to a point just above the apex of the ear. Part of the border at the left has been broken away. I do not recall any die-break as extensive as this in any of the other coins which have come under my observation.

For the thick flan staters, another peculiarity is to be observed. A great many of them bear, in

what is obviously their center point, a small pellet or dot. This same pellet is also to be observed in the center of the thick flan staters of Croton, with the incuse flying eagle, Cf. Pl. xxiii, L. The following is submitted as the explanation of its being there. It will be observed that in most of these cases in which a dot appears at the center, the border consists of wedge-like strokes rather coarser than the usual border and pointing toward a common center, that common center being the aforementioned dot. By some mechanical means, with this center as an application point and with a contrivance having a uniform radius, it seems to have been possible to cut the border, or possibly to re-cut it. This application point, which in the die exists as a depression, when the die is used for striking, appears on the coin as a pellet. Without some agency such as the foregoing, it is hard to explain either the mechanical regularity or the coarseness of the border as compared with the fineness of workmanship which occurs on the rest of the design of the Croton staters with the eagle reverse, as well as on some of the thick flan staters of Metapontum. In the latter case it will be observed that occasionally the central point of application for the mechanical device postulated is no longer observable through surface corrosion of the piece or the breaking of the die itself at this point. Illustrations for the Metapontum pieces

of the foregoing may be noticed in numbers 233, 249 and 191. The practice at Metapontum was apparently not so extensive as at Croton.

Another form of alteration which seems to have been confined almost entirely to the thick flan staters was designed to permit re-cutting of the border. The function of this reverse border was to force the metal into the die so that the rim on the obverse should come out clearly and sharply. It served as a grip on the flan and kept the flan from spreading. When, with use, the little segments into which it was divided began to wear and to lose their power of gripping, it seems to have been the practice to re-cut the border and, as we have seen, some mechanical device aided in doing this for a number of these thick flan staters. This device, however, was not used for all of them, and re-cutting was accomplished without its agency. It was possible to cut away the field of the die close to the worn rim and to bevel it down so that the transition from the old level was gradual. The greatest cutting away of the field was nearest the rim. It was simple, then, to re-cut the rim thus obtained and once more to have it gripping the flan and keeping it from slipping during the striking. In some cases the re-cut border has trespassed on the outline of the ear and very frequently the point at which the re-cutting has begun can be established where the

end of the work overlaps the beginning. (Compare Nos. 184, 205 and 218.)

TYPES.

The types and symbols of the incusi do not begin to compare in importance with those of the double-relief coinage. The *παράσημον* of the city is the barley ear, and the conformation of the head of grain is such that there is faint cause for believing it to be wheat. The kernels of wheat are placed irregularly—those of barley are in groups of three. If one attempts to remove a kernel of barley, it will be found that there are two others joined to it and tending to leave the stem at the same time. This badge of the city is constant throughout the coinage with relatively few exceptions—on some of the bronze issues. On one type of the double-relief staters it occurs on both sides, while in one of the gold issues, we find two ears. This occurs also on the “Hannibalic half-units” identified by M. Vlasto.

For the earliest issues we have the stater, the third and the twelfth, all with the barley-ear-incuse reverse. It is possible that there were also sixths, but from the style and the manner of dividing the inscription, it is hard to believe that the pieces of this denomination with the bull's head incuse reverse came into use before the thick-flan staters and it seems probable that the twelfths with the

barley grain (incuse) reverse (Pl. xxi) were contemporaneous with these sixths.

It should be noticed that the bull's head on the reverse of the sixths is not a bucranium. There are marked variations in the type as an examination of plates xxii and xxi will show. The circular frame of the die permitted the designer but scant liberty and the curves of the animal's horns are presumably a resultant of this condition. On numbers 283 and 290 the bull has short horns—either a deliberate indication of the animal's not having reached full growth or less probably a reproduction of a shorthorned variety. The downward curve of the horns is in contrast to their normal position and might lead us to think that the intention was to represent the head of an ox or bullock. The shorthorned type will bear comparison with the issues of Phocis, which, of course, are in relief. Thus, by analogy with the use of the barley ear, this type is a reference to the flocks and herds of the city as a contributory source of its wealth. We may see therein support for identification of the horned male head of the double relief series as that of Apollo Karneios rather than Zeus Ammon.

SUBSIDIARY SYMBOLS.

Although the barley ear is an almost constant type throughout the Metapontine coinage, the sub-

sidiary symbols have exceptional variety. With the double relief issues the barley ear occupies the reverse and the obverse types change frequently. It is not my present purpose to consider these type-changes. The subsidiary symbols are not frequent on the incuse coinage, but they must be considered as a whole and, therefore, their use on the later issues must be anticipated here.

Perhaps, the first significant condition revealed by study of these symbols at Metapontum is that the explanation that answers for the earliest issues does not suffice for the later ones and that the procedure from 325 to 300 B. C. is certainly not the same as that from 425 to 400.

(a) During the period of the incuse coinage symbols are used very sparingly. Nos. 100-102, 104-105, have on the obverse a grasshopper and on the reverse (incuse), a dolphin. Others (thick flan) have as subsidiary symbols a ram's head (Nos. 221-228), a mule's head (Nos. 231-2), lizard (Nos. 209-220), murex (Nos. 229-30), and grasshopper (Nos. 258-261), while a grain of barley (or wheat) occurs on one of the thirds (Nos. 108-9). With the exception of the barley grain (and strictly, this can hardly be called an exception) all these symbols are animate.

(b) In the period of c. 335 B. C. we might take as typical the tetradrachms with the head of Leukippos²⁰ on the obverse. These have as subsidiary

symbols the forepart of a lion and the letters A Γ H. The reverse has a club as a symbol and the letters A M I. The name A M I occurs on didrachms with the same symbols²¹ and also with an open-winged bird as a reverse symbol.²² The name A Γ H occurs on other didrachms with the forepart of a Pegasus²³ (although not so directly associated as with the forepart of the lion), and elsewhere with a crescent.²⁴ A M I also occurs on the obverse without a symbol.²⁵

(c) About 400 the procedure is much simpler—we have either the symbol or the initial letters—sometimes neither. The last condition, however, is easily explainable, for the obverse type changes would serve to distinguish the issues.

At Maroneia we find the names alone and later the names with symbols in addition. For this city the names are often complete and leave no question of two persons having names with the same initial letters. We find the same names recurring after a fairly considerable interval, the interval being indicated by weight, style or technique.

The warrant for believing these symbols to be magistrates' badges rests on a fairly firm foundation. As shown by Sir Arthur Evans,²⁶ the Heracleian tables²⁷ offer a close analogy, which might fairly be applied to the period to which they are attributed and therefore the procedure

outlined by them is reasonably certain to have been in use for a term sufficiently long to have become established.

If we try to believe that these badges are those of magistrates appointed annually, we get into difficulties for at Maroneia we have the same name recurring two, three or even four times and at intervals. But it is obvious that these badges do serve to distinguish one issue of the coinage of a city from another. Ostensibly they have as their purpose the tracing back to a responsible individual of questions of debasing or underweight or other forms of unrighteousness in connection with their manufacture.

Viewing the question from the angle of the small city state, it is hardly reasonable to suppose that the coinage needs of the many Greek towns with mints were uniform from year to year. No mint of the modern world puts forth equal issues for each successive twelve-month—why should the requirements of the comparatively small towns of Greece be independent of the score of conditions which affect the amount of currency required for local needs? Certainly during conflicts with neighboring rivals, the needs were greater than in times of peace. This is shown for Mende by the hoard found there in 1914. M. Babelon decided upon 423 as the year in which the hoard was probably buried,²⁸ and working independently

and viewing the evidence from another angle, my own conclusions coincided with his.²⁹ This was the year in which the city surrendered to the Athenians and the hoard shows unmistakably a quickening of the coinage just preceding its burial. This evidence may be drawn from the circumstance that there is an increase in the number of dies or rather an increase in the number of dies which are muled one with the other, thus showing their contemporaneity. These dies are distinguished by exergual-symbols which recur on differing dies and which, therefore, may not be identified as artists' symbols or die-distinctions. Insistence here is merely upon the point that the coinage needs of Mende were greater during the period of its conflict with Athens than at a normal period and that the coinage shows this. It is now generally accepted as proven that the occasional gold issues of cities not customarily striking gold coins are attributable to a time of war—the best illustrations being the gold issues of Tarentum at the time of the coming of Alexander of Molossos and the gold issues for Athens. Unquestionably the silver issues must have felt some of this stimulus—and the more so in cities which never put forth gold issues.

In contrast, for a small city state during a long stretch of peaceful years, there must have been many conditions which would have affected the

number of coins minted. In agricultural districts, the failure of crops would automatically have cut down the expenditures of its citizens and reduced the need for media of exchange. Other modifications would vary with each of the cities.

Turning to the economic aspect of the mint itself, very few of these towns had mines to provide the metal they needed for their coins. Whence did it come and how was the purchase of the metal arranged? When brought from a distance it was subject to capture by enemies, to loss in transit or to any of the many chances which one's imagination can supply. Taking such conditions into consideration, are we not compelled to give to the monetary magistrate a higher place than has hitherto been assigned him? His was a position of responsibility. He was trusted to keep the metal unadulterated—his probity was subjected to many other tests. He must have received some remuneration and this coupled with the responsibility must have made the office a desirable one. For such cities as Corinth, where the badge of the city, Pegasus, remained unchanged, and where the symbol for the issue appears beside the Athena head of the reverse, there would have been not the slightest difficulty in handing on the Pegasus die from one "magistrate" to the next. In certain of the mints there seems to be a reference through the symbols to some local occurrence rather than

to a personal badge. This, however, offers but a slight difficulty if we realize that the person responsible for such an issue would presumably be well known, and therefore, need no identification on the coin itself.

Would not most of our difficulties be eliminated, if we could see in these symbols, the identification for a particular issue, thereby admitting that the symbol might be a badge or a reference to the agency responsible for it, whether that agent were an individual, whether that agency had some connection with a religious festival or a more direct relation to the temple of a local deity, or whether there were some intention of investing the symbol with significance of a purely civic or local nature, such as a victory?

But some will say, "Wherein then lies the difference between all this and the magistrate-symbol idea?" The difference lies in the application, but it is much greater than it seems. The advantage of the theory is that it gets away from the time element—from our modern way of thinking of a uniform number of coins struck for each year or that the "magistrate" was appointed for a set period. Our theory admits of there having been periods in the smaller cities during which no coins at all were struck. It also considers that during a season of stress many times the normal requirements must have been issued and by associating

an increase in the coinage with known crises in the history of the city concerned, we are given a basis for dating which may prove very valuable. It has also a very direct bearing on the employment of artists for the die-cutting and makes plausible the recurrence of their signatures in more than one of the cities of Magna Graecia.

To test the theory, permit me first to apply it to Metapontum's issues. Mention has been made of the di-staters with the head of Leukippos. These form the only issue of this denomination at Metapontum and as one of the two issues of gold coins also has for its type the head of Leukippos,³⁰ there is no reason for questioning the assignment to the period of Alexander of Epirus, if we accept the customary explanation regarding such gold issues. Just as might be expected, we find an increase in the output of staters also at this time and this is established by the occurrence of the same initials as appear on the di-staters. We find more than twenty-two dies with the lion's head for symbol with A M I and club on reverse, and sixteen dies for this type with the seated dog. We also find staters of this type with other symbols and with varying combinations of symbols and initials. We find the thunderbolt which occurs on the coinage of Alexander of Epirus and which we are accustomed to accept as his signet, associated with A M I, a name which also oc-

curs without the Alexander reference. We might read from this "struck by A M I, the agent of Alexander."

The magnitude of these respective issues is indicated by the number of dies, but instead of an issue which extended over an interval equal to the collective life of the dies, it is much more logical to believe the issue to have been struck within a comparatively short period.

Earlier in the coinage of Metapontum (c. 400), we find a beautiful head of Kore bearing the first three letters of the name of Aristoxenos at the base of the neck, a position favored by this artist who signs two other dies in a similar position.³¹ This die, easily identified as a single die by a slight defect which gradually enlarges, is found coupled with seven reverse dies, two of which bear symbols and the others of which show slight differences in the position of the inscription or of the accompanying leaf. *None of these reverse dies are found coupled with any other obverse.* It seems only reasonable to believe that these reverses were used for successive issues, which were presumably frequent and which must have been comparatively small in size to permit the obverse die to outlive all seven reverse dies.

One further illustration before passing to the incuse issues which most directly concern us here. Shortly after the adoption of the double-

relief style for this city, we find a series of coins with the horned head of Apollo Karneios (7 dies plus two imitations).³² These dies bear neither symbols nor initials. The reverse dies differ very slightly in the arrangement of the awns, of the leaf or of the ear. Is it not reasonable to see here an issue which for some reason sought to honor Apollo Karneios—an issue of a size necessitating the number of dies indicated? The issue may have been for a single year or may have extended over a longer time.

For the incuse pieces, the grasshopper-dolphin issue illustrated on Plate viii is typical. We have the grasshopper on the obverse coupled (1) with a reverse which is blank, Nos. 101 and 103; (2) with a dolphin in outline—incised in the die and, therefore, in relief on the coin; (3) and with the dolphin incuse—two dies. If the grasshopper is a magistrate's badge,³³ what shall we say of the dolphin? Lenormant's belief that the insect was introduced with a propitiatory significance makes no allowance for the dolphin—there may have been a plague of locusts but could there have been a plague of dolphins?³³

Going back to the theory with which we started, however, there is every reason to believe that whatever its significance on these seven dies, the grasshopper is placed there to distinguish the issue. The die-combinations connote this and com-

pared with this circumstance for our present purposes, the significance of the symbol is secondary. In a similar way we may consider the lizard, which appears later on the thick-flan issues. Have we not the well-known statue of Apollo Sauroktonos? Similarly the ram's head symbol might be a further reference to Apollo Karneios, but again the significance is less important for our purpose than the probability that in each case we have a single issue.

It should be noted that the grasshopper is found repeatedly throughout the Metapontine coinage—there are at least four recurrences of the symbol, all readily distinguishable, and each separated from the other by an appreciable interval. This gives color to the suggestion that this may have been the arms of a family rather than of an individual. Its use as a symbol would have been sufficient to indicate the responsibility for the issue because there would have been a general knowledge as to which member of the clan had been entrusted with the striking of that issue. On one of the later staters there is a combination which seems to support such a suggestion.

We find on this piece of about 343-39 B. C., in the field of the reverse, an owl devouring a grasshopper. Now owls are nocturnal and grasshoppers are not; furthermore, there are abundant instances of the accuracy of the Greeks' observation in such

matters and we can hardly believe that such a combination would occur without intention. The owl, too, occurs previously on the Metapontine issues but without the grasshopper. Have we then a record of a feud between members of the grasshopper clan and the family whose arms were the owl, possibly for the purpose of indicating their Athenian origin? It is interesting to note that the



letters which appear on this issue are A Θ A and that there are at least two dies. But the use of the grasshopper as a clan symbol does not explain its occurrence elsewhere—Messana, Mende, Velia, Sybaris. Again we are forced to the conclusion that the evidence is insufficient for dogmatism and all that we can safely deduce is that the issues with this combination of symbols belong together.

It would be presumptuous for me to try to apply this principle to the other coinages on which symbols occur. No other explanation I have found, however, works so well for the Corinthian issues, with the coinage of Abdera, or with that of the other cities whose issues have been tested. In

the recently published British Museum Catalogue for Cyrene, p. lxxxix-xc, a table is given for pieces bearing magistrates' names. Just as might be expected, certain of the names are found on tetradrachms alone, while others occur on two or more denominations. Would not this connote that A's commission was the striking of tetradrachms only, from a fixed appropriation or quantity of silver, while Magistrate B's task required the issue of all denominations? If some system involving seignorage was in use, B's would probably have been the more desirable appointment. The practice must have varied in the different cities and suffered modifications from century to century, so that each mint's procedure must be studied independently. Metapontum is fairly representative of a number of Greek city-states, and the method used there may be not dissimilar to those of other centers.

CLASSIFICATION.

The incuse coinage of Metapontum has been considered as a monotonous repetition of the barley ear type, but monotonous it is not. The ingenuity with which the design is varied is impressive, and the splendid quality behind these variations is no less wonderful. The relief ranges from exceeding boldness to the greatest delicacy. The die-cutter seems to have taken advantage of every

faintest possibility of the material, utilizing not only the subsidiary symbols, such as the grasshopper, but making very decorative groupings of the initial letters of the city's name as well.

In describing these issues, it is desirable to eliminate undue repetition and to decide upon a form which will leave room for no mistake. It will be noticed that the end of the barley ear sometimes tapers and sometimes is square-cut. For distinguishing these dies (such as that of No. 88), it has been found advisable to state the number of grains in each row. The outer rows of No. 88 contain six grains each, while the one in the middle has seven, and on either side of the top-most central grain there are two tiny additional grains. In describing the dies it is the outer rows which have been counted because very often the middle row is worn and it is difficult to distinguish the number of its grains. In consequence, the formula used herein is "six-grained barley ear with small additional terminal grains." Double-striking and wear make it advisable to rely on the number of grains to the ear except where there are no other outstanding points of differentiation.

From each of the grains in the ear extend the long lines of what we call the "beard" of the grain. The units are technically known as awns and as such are referred to hereinafter. Later,

with the double relief coinage, each of these awns is shown with the small barbs with which they are equipped in nature—an instance of the closeness of observation of the Greeks, of which we shall have many another illustration.

Another convention which has been used throughout applies to the inscription. Neither the British Museum Catalogue nor that of the Berlin Museum is entirely satisfactory or entirely free from ambiguity on this score. The scheme used is a modification of one outlined by M. Arthur Sambon in the *Revue Numismatique* for 1916.³⁴ Again referring to No. 88, it will be seen that we have the first four letters of the city's name and that these are divided, the two on the left being read downward, the two on the right upward. By using a colon to indicate the ear and placing a line above the letters to show which part of the letters (i. e., the top or the base) is nearest the awns (ME:TA), there is no longer any room for doubt as to the order of the letters. When, however, as with No. 135, the inscription is straightforward on one side and retrograde on the other, it seems wiser not to print the latter portion of the inscription backwards but to make our convention meet the case by indicating the uppermost letter by a dot over that letter. The formula for 135 thus becomes METÀ:ΠONTI. Nor does it seem wise to repeat the archaic letters

again and again. Oftentimes the printed letter is but a poor approximation to what appears on the coins. Moreover, in the majority of cases, the letters are readily distinguishable on the plates which presumably would first be consulted for purposes of identification.

It remains to indicate the broad classes into which the early coinage divides itself. For this purpose the form of border is the first criterion, although the size of the flan does enter, especially with the latest class.

CLASS I (Nos. 1-36; 37-39 imitations). For the first class the distinctive mark of difference is the pair of tiny folioles or bracts at the base of the ear of barley on the obverse. These do not occur in any other series or class. Besides this, the border is also distinctive. Usually it is described as "of coarse dots" or "*grènetis*". It will be seen that inside this coarse border an inner border, very much finer, begins early, (Plate II) and that this develops by steps which have a clear evolutionary trend and ultimately becomes continuous and linear. The inscription is usually confined to the first three letters of the city's name, sometimes, but not frequently, retrograde; on the obverse, with one or two exceptions they are to the left of the ear—on the reverse, to the right. These three letters also occur in a few reverse dies but *in relief*—that is they have been

engraved in the reverse die after it was otherwise complete and therefore are in relief on the coin itself. This peculiarity is not found elsewhere in the incuse coinage until we reach the Class XI with the pieces of smallest module.

CLASS II (Nos. 40-50) is not large in numbers. In contrast with Class I, the rim is not coarse and is in the same plane or almost the same plane as the field. It is not raised as in succeeding classes. The inner linear circle which supplemented the coarser one in Class I has now as a complement, an *outside* circle as well, so that the border now becomes a circle of dots between two linear circles. The bracts which occur throughout Class I are absent. The inscription is uniformly to the left and of three letters only. The relief throughout is very flat, the ears are short and well-centered, and the stem long.

CLASSES III to VIII really form a single large group which has been separated for convenience of identification. There is a sharp break between this group and the two earlier groups, and no satisfactory connecting link has been found. Whether this means that there was a break in the coinage or merely a change of workmen and a consequent change of style in the output, it is impossible to say. What is more likely is that no hoard has furnished us with the issues of just this time. The classification is not strictly

chronological, but neither is it purely arbitrary; the arrangement endeavors to obviate the difficulties of identifying the dies in view of the close similarity of some of them.

CLASS III (Nos. 54-84). The distinctive feature of this class is the increased module, some dies reaching 31 mm. in diameter. This is larger than any other class within the coinage. The border is similar in form to that of Class II, but is now pronouncedly raised. It should be noted also that the border for the reverse die has undergone a change and is now beautifully regular. In Class I this reverse border was coarse; in the next division it had become less crude but without having reached the form in which it appears here. (Cf. the discussion of the technical elements of this under die-making and die-breaks.) The ears are in exceptionally high relief but modelled with the greatest of delicacy. The inscriptions are uniformly to the right and either MET or META and in only one case retrograde. A comparison of numbers 58 and 79 will show that the line of progression to the next class is none too certain. It will be noticed that the reverse of the former coin has eight grains to the ear while the obverse has six.

CLASS IV (Nos. 85-99). In this class the inscription is divided, save for one exception—85a—where it is to the left. (Cf. also Class VIII for

imitations.) The style is close to that of Class III in some specimens but in general the barley ears are composed of rows having six very large grains. The relief is bold and well-modelled. In this and in the succeeding class we have the introduction of the guilloche border, which is also found on some of the thick flan staters, on the coinage of Sybaris, as well as on some of the other incuse coinages of Magna Graecia. At the end of the series there are one or two dies of a reduced module (26 mm.) which have been placed here because of their divided inscription. They serve to indicate that the order within these classes was independent of our arbitrary arrangement and that these two dies probably came close to the beginning of what we call Class IX, the thick flan staters.

CLASS V (Nos. 100-111) is easily to be distinguished by the presence of the subsidiary symbols of the grasshopper on the obverse and the dolphin on the reverse, the latter in outline only, as well as *intaglio*. The dies vary from 28 mm. to 26 mm. in diameter and are thought by some to show the high-water mark for the incuse coinage. Border guillochée.

CLASS VI (Nos. 112-135). This class is distinguished from Class III, aside from style, chiefly by its smaller module (26 to 27.5 mm.). The inscription is in four letters but not divided (see

also Class VIII for imitations). There are nineteen varieties with inscription to right, five to left. The letter A is frequently the most helpful criterion in distinguishing dies, not only in its special relation to the rest of the design but in view of its form—round or pointed top and with its cross bar downward to either right or left.

CLASS VII (Nos. 136-144). This class is easily distinguishable because of its five-letter inscription. The variations in the form of the ear show that these staters were not issued as a class. Comparison with the other issues demonstrates that they should be interpolated among the coins arranged arbitrarily (like these) on preceding plates. The coins are rather less common than most of the other varieties and show the gradual decrease in module which has been noticed in some of the preceding classes. The last two varieties really belong to the thick flan staters.

CLASS VIII (Nos. 145-154b). Imitations. These pieces because of the crudity of their style or of their lettering or of both, have been separated and placed in a class by themselves. They have been discussed at length in considering the making of dies. In general, they exhibit a lack of understanding of the methods used for the rest of the incuse coinage—a difference so great as to warrant considering them unofficial imitations. An examination of the reverse dies will bring this

out very clearly, especially in the treatment of the awns and the borders.

CLASS IX (Nos. 155-208). Thick flan staters without symbols. Module approximately 24 mm. This class for convenience is sub-divided into (1) inscriptions right, (a) with three letters, (b) with four letters, and (2) inscriptions left (a) with three letters, (b) with four letters.

This is perhaps the least interesting class of the entire incuse coinage. The dies are difficult to distinguish one from another, especially when the coins are at all worn. The chief variations occur in the inscriptions, but these may have been recut in some cases. The rims of the reverses are sometimes recut—compare Nos. 176 and 191.

CLASS X (Nos. 209-232). Thick flan staters with symbols (excepting the grasshopper types of class XII). These symbols are the lizard, ram's head, mule's head, murex. The module varies from 24 to 16 mm. Some of the reverses have inscriptions engraved in the die and in relief on the coins, notably 228, 229, 230.

CLASS XI (Nos. 233-257). Small flans without symbols, ranging from 20 mm. to 16 mm. As with Class X, some of the coins have inscriptions engraved on the reverse dies (Cf. numbers 246, 247, 248).

CLASS XII (Nos. 258-261). The grasshopper types of the thick flan issues. These are separated

and placed here because of their connection with the double relief issues.

DATING OF THE INCUSE ISSUES

There is slight reason for thinking that the date assigned by Head in *Historia Numorum* for the incuse coinages of Metapontum needs any changing, although there is not much positive evidence to justify making 470 the date for the last of the incuse issues. For the beginning of the coinage, we can only gauge that it must have been well before the destruction of Sybaris (510). The extensive coinage of that city warrants believing that it may have begun as early as 550 B. C. The great influence of Sybaris must have been partly responsible for the continued use of the thin *incusi* up to the time of Croton's victory, but for this there is only the negative evidence of hoards that the thin form did not long continue after the downfall of Sybaris. The practice of overstriking was much more common with the thick flan staters and especially with the later issues. But these, save with some of the issues from Agrigentum, offer little help in dating. M. Babelon in his *Traité* illustrates the Achelous piece as coming before 470 and in view of its having an obverse die identical with that of No. 91, his conclusions, based on style and lettering, are borne out. There seems

small reason for doubting that the somewhat similar standing Apollo and Hercules issues in double relief also followed closely upon the thick-flan *incusi*. The early stater issued by Pandosia, which is so obviously modeled on these issues of Metapontum, helps to confirm this placing of them (Cf. Head's illustration and remarks).³⁵ With the Metapontine issues in mind, it is easy to complete the obverse type, which the bad preservation of the British Museum specimen has made indefinite in the cut used by Head. The object at the lower left is clearly an altar similar to that on several dies of Metapontum.

HOARDS

With the exception of the Curinga and the Taranto hoards, we have no adequate account of hoards in which the incuse coins of Metapontum occur. Those listed in the introduction of Sambon's "Recherches sur les Monnaies Antiques de l'Italie" are helpful but as the varieties are not distinguished, their value is limited. A very important hoard is recorded by von Duhn.³⁶ It was found at Cittanuova in 1879 and must have contained data which would have settled many questions regarding these South Italian issues, but aside from the portion secured for the Berlin cabinet, we know very little of its make up. Mention has already been made that so far as our present

knowledge goes, these *incusi* are not found outside of Italy.

The Curinga hoard is one of which we have record of two-thirds of the pieces unearthed. A list of the varieties is given in a note.³⁸ These show that the hoard must have been buried some time after the adoption of the thick-flan fabric and before the flan had been reduced to its smallest format. B. C. 490 would be a fair approximate date, judging by the issues of Metapontum alone. There are comparatively few of the issues which I consider the earliest. There are none of the grasshopper-dolphin pieces and few or none of the wide-flan and divided-inscription issues of Classes III and IV. Casts of the Metapontum pieces were prepared for me through the kindness of Dr. Orsi.

The Taranto hoard in the record made by M. Babelon provides much valuable data. It was possible to supplement this by a study of the pieces which still remained in the possession of Messrs. Spink & Son, who courteously permitted me access to this residue. The list appended gives the varieties seen.³⁹ This hoard, again judging by Metapontum's pieces alone, would seem to have been formed at least a decade before the Curinga accumulation. There was at least one of the thick-flan staters but the crystallized condition of most of the pieces left little room for deductions concerning their circulation, although at the same

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time it served as a reason for believing that this thick flan stater could hardly have been an intrusion. Additions to the hoard must have ceased about the time of the beginning of the use of the thick flan format. It may have been in the process of formation during an extended period since there was a large proportion of the earlier varieties.

No. 100b, struck over a Croton stater, shares with the Poseidonia issue struck over the Metapontine type (De Luynes Coll. 524), the distinction of being one of the few overstruck *incusi* known to us.

It is to be hoped that some future hoard will give us more facts upon which to build. The history of Metapontum is so fragmentary that further data would be very welcome.

DESCRIPTIONS

CLASS I.

1a $\overline{\text{MET}}^*$:* Eight-grained barley ear with bracts or folioles at the base. Border narrow and light. Die-break to left of the apex of the ear and extending to l. to outermost awn. Double-struck—note awn to r.

℞ Eight-grained barley ear incuse, tapering slightly toward top.

℞ 28 mm. 8.00 Curinga Hoard.

1b Same die as 1a. The break has developed. The border is recut and is now coarse. The traces of the earlier border may be seen at the lower l. The enlarging of the border has been at the expense of the field, and has partly eliminated the break above the inscr.

℞ Die of 1a.

℞ 28 mm. 7.78 Taranto Hoard.

1c Die 1a with further re-cutting. The inscr. has been preserved in its relative position by deepening its outline with some sharp tool so that it is now a sequence of fine points. The rim and pos-

* For explanation of the convention used to record inscr., see p. 43.

sibly the ear have been deepened. The die-break at the apex has been almost, but not entirely eliminated. The awns, now at an angle of 45 degrees do not obliterate those of the earlier stage of the die, and these may be seen in the field to the left.

℞ A new die with ear having eight grains and a coarse border—double struck.

℞ 28 mm. 7.97 The American Numismatic Society (ex Taranto H'd).

1d Die in later stage than 1c. The die-break at the apex has deepened. The inscr. has been made linear, although there are traces of the stippling visible in 1c.

℞ Probably same die as 1c, altered by the addition of the inscr. which has been cut in the die and is therefore in relief on the coin.

℞ 28 mm. 7.77 Cambridge (McClean—ex Taranto H'd?); Brandis 72—8.10 (not certainly these dies).

2 $\overline{\text{MET}}$: Eight-grained ear. Inscription compact and with die-break to left of the M.

℞ Very similar to No. 1d—possibly the same die.

℞ 29 mm. —.—— Sir Arthur J. Evans; Sir Herman Weber Coll. 734, 7.47.

3 $\overline{\text{MET}}$: Eight-grained barley ear. The dots of the border instead of being coarse are fine and regular.

℞ Eight-grained ear, the uppermost grain very small. The border narrow and finer than usual.

℞ 28 mm. 7.90 The American Numismatic Society; Naples (Fiorelli 2283); Spink & Son, ex Taranto H'd, 4 specimens, 7.58, 7.78, 7.97 and 7.97; Naville V, 427—8.15; Paris (illustr. in *La Musée*, 1908. p. 126); Berlin; Curinga H'd—8.02.

4 $\overline{\text{MET}}$: Broad barley ear, 14 mm. wide at base, with flattened bracts which touch the border. Relief very high and bold. Inscr. weakly cut.

℞ $\text{:}\overline{\text{MET}}$ More boldly cut than obv. Base of ear of same width as obv. Inscr. in relief.

℞ 28 mm. 8.06 Jameson (ex Taranto H'd); Bement 150—8.19; E. T. Newell, 6.69; Vienna, 7.74; Cambridge (McClellan 896), 8.16; Hirsch XXX, 158—8.20; London (B. M. C. 2), 7.84; Munich; Spink and Son, 7.90, 7.97, 7.76, 7.97, 8.10, 7.81—all ex Taranto H'd, and possibly from variant dies.

5 $\overline{\text{MET}}$: Barley ear less broad than No. 4 which this piece may possibly precede. Die shows signs of having broken at border.

℞ No inscription. Similar to No. 4, but the middle row of grains is narrower.

℞ 28.5 mm. ——— Paris (Taranto H'd. Cf. *Rev. Num.*, 1912, Pl. IV, 12).

6 : $\overline{\text{MET}}$ Eight-grained barley ear tapering toward the top and with short folioles at the base. The border very crude but with an inner circle of dots.

℞ Nine-grained barley ear, longer and broader than obverse. Border very crude.

℞ 29 mm. ——— Taranto H'd, 1911; The American Numismatic Society, 7.32 (ex Taranto H'd).

7 $\overline{\text{MET}}$: The bracts are only slightly curved and do not touch border. Width of ear 8 mm.

℞ : $\overline{\text{MET}}$ Similar to No. 2. Width of ear 10 mm.

℞ 29.5 mm. 7.84. Taranto H'd, Spink & Son—three, 7.97, 7.90, 8.10; London, B. M. Cat. 4, 7.70.

8 $\overline{\text{MET}}$: Eight-grained ear in high relief. The bracts are almost semi-circular and touch the border. Width of ear 8.8 mm.

℞ : $\overline{\text{MET}}$ in relief. Ear, 10 mm. wide, is broader than on obv.

℞ 29 mm. 8.18 Bement 152; Spink and Son, ex Taranto H'd, 2 pcs. weighing 7.97.

9 $\overline{\text{MET}}$: Eight-grained barley ear. The middle row constricted to little more than a line. As in No. 12, the workmanship is very crude. The ear is crooked. The inner border of dots is coarse.

℞ The die-workmanship is crude. The border is unlike anything heretofore.

℞ 28.5 mm. 8.10 Paris.

10 $\overline{\text{MET}}$: Eight-grained ear. Inner border of dots well defined. Foliole to left curves upward at outer extremity.

℞ Eight-grained ear, larger than ear of obv.

℞ 27 mm. 8.00 Vienna; London, B. M. Cat. 5, 7.78; The American Numismatic Society, 7.61; Spink & Son (Taranto H'd), two, one weighing 8.00.

11 $\overline{\text{MET}}$: Eight-grained ear. Thick stem.

℞ Similar to No. 10.

℞ 27 mm. 8.00 Curinga Hoard and one—possibly two others; Charles H. Imhoff; Berlin; Naples (Fiorelli 2284); Munich; Spink & Son (Taranto H'd), two, one 7.97.

12 $\overline{\text{MET}}$: Note that E has elongated vertical stroke.

℞ Similar to No. 10.

℞ 28 mm. 7.07 Curinga Hoard.

13 $\overline{\text{MET}}$: Stem very short. The border of dots more pronounced. The ear broader at the centre than at the base.

℞ Similar to No. 10. Note line just within border.

℞ 27.5 mm. 8.02 Bement Sale 151; Curinga

Hoard—two 8.01 and 8.00; Spink & Son (Taranto H'd—7.78).

14 $\overline{\text{MET}}$: Similar to No. 13, but bracts more pronounced.

℞ Similar to No. 13 but with awns at wider angle.

Æ 27.5 mm. 8.21 E. T. Newell; Curinga Hoard, 7.09; Cambridge (Corpus Christi—Lewes Coll.); Spink & Son (Taranto H'd)—four or five, 7.81 (identification not certain), 7.97, 7.84 (two), 7.90; Naville V, 428—7.94.

15 $\overline{\text{MET}}$: Compact inscription, the vertical stroke of the T extending slightly beyond the horizontal. Right bract touches border.

℞ Similar to Nos. 10-14.

Æ 25.5 mm. 8.01 Curinga Hoard.

16 $\overline{\text{MET}}$: Similar to No. 14 but the M and the E of the inscription are separated by an interval equal to that which separates the E from the T.

℞ The ear similar to No. 11.

Æ 28 mm. 8.11 Berlin; Paris (ex Taranto Find, illus. Rev. Num. 1912, Pl. IV, No. 11; ten (?) other specimens weighing from 7.50 to 8.15, see also No. 11); W. Gedney Beatty; Arolsen; Curinga Hoard 8.00; Headlam Sale 196, 8.27; Spink & Son (Taranto H'd),—7.97.

17 $\overline{\text{MET}}$: Eight-grained, square-topped ear. Short stem. Inner circle of dots well defined.

℞ Similar to No. 16.

℞ 29 mm. 8.29 (Spink & Son—ex Taranto H'd).

18 $\overline{\text{MET}}$: Similar to No. 17.

℞ Ear tapering slightly toward top.

℞ 28 mm. —.—— Naples (Fiorelli 2285).

19 $\overline{\text{MET}}$: Short, compact ear of eight grains. The awns at the apex have an interval greater than heretofore.

℞ Eight-grained ear slightly larger than that of obv.

℞ 28 mm. 7.97 Spink & Son (ex Taranto H'd); Allotte de la Fuye Sale 61, 8.20.

20 $\overline{\text{MET}}$: Similar to No. 19. The bracts are unequal in length, and each touches circle of dots inside the main border.

℞ Closely similar to No. 19.

℞ 29.5 mm. 7.96 Locker-Lampson Coll. 17; Spink's Circular, 53358 (ex Taranto H'd), 8.29 and four others—8.10, 8.10, 8.07, 7.78; Curinga Hoard, 8.01; G. F. Marlier, Pittsburgh.

21 $\overline{\text{MET}}$: Closely similar to No. 20—possibly same die with inner border made linear. Eight-grained ear, tapering towards top.

℞ Eight-grained ear, tapering towards top.

℞ 28 mm. —.—— E. P. Robinson, Newport; Naville V, 64—8.19.

22 Similar to No. 20.

℞ $\overline{\text{MET}}$: In relief. Eight-grained ear.

℞ 27.5 mm. —.—— Berlin; Pozzi 156, 7.96; Naville V, 429—7.98; Spink & Son (Taranto H'd), 7.71, 7.97 and 7.41.

23 $\overline{\text{MET}}$: Eight-grained ear. Well defined circle within border.

℞ $:\overline{\text{MET}}$ In relief. Eight-grained barley ear tapering toward apex.

℞ 27.5 mm. 8.05 Curinga Hoard; Hunterian 1, 7.77; Spink & Son (Taranto H'd)—two, one weighing 8.10; Caprotti 188, 7.70.

24 Similar to 18 but the ear not so broad and the inner circle linear.

℞ $:\overline{\text{MET}}$ In relief. Eight-grained ear.

℞ 27 mm. 8.16 E. T. Newell.

25 $\overline{\text{MET}}$: Eight-grained ear of even width. The flan is more than usually cupped. The awns have been deepened to form a continuous line. The border shows recutting in some specimens.

℞ A broken die. The break at the end of the awn farthest to the right has been repaired and the die recut for a short distance. The crack in the field to the r. has become continuous.

℞ 28.5 mm. —.—— 7.99, 8.16. American Numismatic (2); Berlin; Curinga H'd, 8.00.

26 Die of No. 25.

℞ : $\overline{\text{MET}}$ In relief. Otherwise similar to No. 25.

℞ 28 mm. —.—— Spink and Son (Taranto H'd?).

27 $\overline{\text{MET}}$: The awns more widely separated than heretofore. The flattened bracts do not touch the border which has an inner linear circle, but no apparent outer circle.

℞ Similar to Obv. in dimensions. The bracts are present at the base of the ear for the single time on the r. in the entire incuse series.

℞ 27.5 mm. 8.00 E. T. Newell.

28 : $\overline{\text{MET}}$ Seven-grained ear tapering toward top; with folioles. Coarse border similar to that of Nos. 1-5.

℞ Seven-grained ear.

℞ 16.5 mm. 1/3 stater 2.69 E. T. Newell.

29 $\overline{\text{MET}}$: Tapering seven-grained ear with small additional terminal grains; folioles at base.

℞ : $\overline{\text{MET}}$ Seven-grained ear with tiny additional terminal grains.

℞ 19.5 mm. 1/3 stater 2.59 Spink & Son 53376; Berlin (2).

30 $\overline{\text{MET}}$: Seven-grained ear. Folioles very slight.

℞ Seven-grained ear.

℞ 19 mm. $1/3$ stater —.—— Paris; Vienna (2, 2.43 and 2.46).

31 $\overline{\text{MET}}$: Seven-grained ear similar to No. 28.

℞ Seven-grained ear.

℞ 18.5 mm. $1/3$ stater 2.66 G. F. Marlier, Pittsburgh.

32 $\overline{\text{MET}}$: Seven-grained ear with right foliole higher than 1. Coarse border.

℞ Seven-grained ear.

℞ 17.5 mm. $1/3$ stater —.—— Berlin; C. S. Bement; E. S. G. Robinson; Arolsen; Vienna, 2.42; H. Chapman.

33 $\overline{\text{MET}}$: Narrow seven-grained ear with folioles, similar to Nos. 7-8.

℞ Seven-grained ear, very broad at base.

℞ 17.5 mm. $1/3$ stater 2.61 American Numismatic Society (ex Taranto H'd); Berlin.

34 Broad five-grained ear. Coarse border.

℞ Five-grained ear.

℞ 8.5 mm. Obol 0.46 Naville VI, 159.

35 $\overline{\text{MET}}$: Broad five-grained ear. Coarse border.

℞ Five-grained ear.

Æ 8.5 mm. Obol 0.40 London, B. M. Cat. 35.

36 Inscription obliterated? Six-grained ear. Coarse border.

℞ Six-grained ear.

Æ 10 mm. Obol —.—— Berlin.

37 $\overline{\text{MET}}$: Crude seven-grained ear, evidently imitating No. 14; border unusual, it shows that the die-cutter had no conception of the way it had been cut in his model.

℞ Eight-grained ear tapering toward apex; the awns do not extend to the rim.

Æ 28 mm. 6.88 Naples (Santangelo 3900).

38 $\overline{\text{MET}}$: Crude eight-grained ear in low relief, possibly imitating No. 9. The inner border of dots almost as heavy as in No. 37.

℞ Eight-grained ear tapering toward apex.

Æ 29 mm. 7.73 Cambridge (Leake).

39 $\overline{\text{MET}}$: Seven-grained ear in high relief with small additional terminal grains. Folioles at base. The awns, formed by a series of dots, are very awkwardly spread. The lettering is

crude. Border of dots between two lines—a type of border not used with Class I.

℞ Eight-grained ear—border unlike preceding pieces.

℞ 19 mm. 1.90 London, B. M. Cat. 30.

CLASS II.

40 MET: Seven-grained ear with square top. The ear is more compact than in Class I, the stem longer, and the folioles are lacking. The border is of dots between two linear circles, but in same plane as the rest of the design.

℞ Similar to Obv. Die has begun to wear on lowest grain on the left side.

℞ 29 mm. 8.10. Taranto Find, Spink's Circular No. 53355; Berlin.

41 MET: Eight-grained barley ear narrowing at base and apex. The stem is long.

℞ Double struck; eight grains in left row and nine grains in right.

℞ 29 mm. 8.19. E. T. Newell; Naples (Fiorelli 2285 and 2289); Hirsch XXX, 162—8.15; W. Gedney Beatty Coll.—7.96.

42 MET: Similar to No. 40, but inscription less compact.

℞ Similar.

℞ 29 mm. —.—— Taranto H'd, 6 specimens—

7.97, 7.78, 7.65, 8.03, 7.90. Spink's Circular No. 53358b, and 53356; London, B. M. Cat. 6, 7.64; Paris (ex same find—Rev. Num., 1912, Pl. IV, 7); W. Gedney Beatty Coll. 8.12; One hundred specimens of this general type occurred in Taranto hoard.

43 $\overline{\text{MET}}$: Ear a trifle wider than in No. 42. Inscription differs.

℞ Usual type. Note that the die is broken at the border at both sides; at the right, it has been mended by hammering (?) the edge inward so that a segment of the border has disappeared.

℞ 30 mm. 7.91. E. T. Newell; Taranto H'd, Spink's Circular No. 53357a; Spink & Son (Taranto H'd) (6), 8.10 (2), 8.16 (2), 7.90 and 7.32; American Numismatic Society—7.89; Hoyt Miller Coll.—8.05.

44 $\overline{\text{MET}}$: Seven-grained ear, short and broad but uniform in width.

℞ Similar to Obv., but the ear is eight-grained and slightly narrower at apex than at base.

℞ 30 mm. 8.13. Spink's Circular No. 61998; Copenhagen, 7.80.

45 $\overline{\text{MET}}$: Similar to No. 44, but stem slightly longer.

℞ Seven-grained barley ear, the two uppermost grains very small.

℞ 28 mm. 7.54. Vienna.

46 $\overline{\text{MET}}$ Eight-grained ear—the uppermost

grains small. The M of the inscription not extended.

℞ Similar to Obv. The border finer than in the preceding pieces.

℞ 28 mm. —.—— Paris (Rev. Num., 1912, Pl. IV, 6); Munich; Spink & Son (Taranto H'd), 7.97.

47 $\overline{\text{MET}}$: Closely similar to No. 46. Compact inscription.

℞ Eight-grained ear; the upper grains small.

℞ 30 mm. —.—— Naples (Santangelo 3893).

48 $\overline{\text{MET}}$: Seven-grained ear, with small additional terminal grains. Border of dots between two lines. Similar to No. 6 in shape of ear, but without folioles and with border of Class II.

℞ Seven-grained ear similar to obverse. Traces of inscription (?) in field to r.

℞ 19 mm. 2.58. Naville V, 438; Dr. Petsalis, Athens.

49 $\overline{\text{MET}}$: Graceful five-grained ear with small additional terminal grains, similar to No. 42.

℞ Five-grained ear.

℞ 19 mm. —.—— Paris and a second piece illustrated. Rev. Num. 1912, Pl. IV, 8 (2.36).

50 Six-grained ear, somewhat similar to No. 40. Border of coarse dots only. No folioles at base.

68 THE COINAGE OF

℞ Five-grained ear with rounded top.

℞ 10 mm. 0.38. Vienna.

51 $\dot{\overline{\text{ME}}}$ Six-grained ear with small additional terminal grains. Border of dots between two lines.

℞ Narrow six-grained ear.

℞ 18 mm. 2.71. Sir H. Weber Coll. 738, (ex Bunbury, 126); Vienna (2.20).

52 $\dot{\overline{\text{MET}}}$: Six-grained barley ear with small additional terminal grains.

℞ Eight-grained ear with rounded top, and additional terminal grains.

℞ 19 mm. 2.70. E. T. Newell.

53 $\dot{\overline{\text{MET}}}$: Five-grained ear in high relief. Border of dots between two lines.

℞ Five-grained ear with small additional terminal grains. The whole slightly longer and broader than on obverse.

℞ 18 mm. 2.56. Brussels (de Hirsch).

CLASS III.

54 $\dot{\overline{\text{MET}}}$ Ear longer and in considerably higher relief than in Class II, and stem entirely lacking or merely indicated. Border raised to form a rim. Barley ear with eight grains on left

and nine on right. Ear 21.5 x 8 mm. Base of ear broken at border.

℞ Die very boldly cut. Six-grained barley ear with grains at the left pronouncedly narrower than those on the right.

℞ 30 mm. 7.91. Taranto Find, Spink's Circular No. 53370; Naples (Fiorelli 2294).

55 : $\overline{\text{MET}}$ Eight-grained ear with rounded top.

℞ Nine-grained ear.

℞ 31 mm. —.—— Naples (Fiorelli 2280 and 81); Arolsen; Naville III, 65—8.07.

56 : $\overline{\text{MET}}$ Eight-grained ear with small additional terminal grain, and rounded top. The awns curve outward slightly.

℞ Nine-grained ear—the two upper grains smaller.

℞ 30 mm. 8.18. Naville V, 431.

57 Similar to 56 but the inscription has the tops of the letters closer to the outermost awn.

℞ Die of 56.

℞ 30 mm. —.—— Berlin.

58 : $\overline{\text{MET}}$ Six-grained ear of even width (22 x 8 mm.). Slight break in die at apex of ear.

℞ Eight-grained barley ear with two addi-

tional terminal grains. The ear is slightly larger than on Obv.

Æ 30.5 mm. 8.21. Brussels (de Hirsch); Vienna 7.77; E. T. Newell 8.17; Curinga H'd—8.01.

59 : $\overline{\text{MET}}$ Seven-grained ear with small additional terminal grains.

℞ Seven-grained ear with square top.

Æ 30 mm. —.—— Naples.

60 No inscription. Five grains on l. and six on r. row of ear. Narrow, in high relief. A pronounced border of dots between two lines.

℞ Five-grained ear. Border possibly recut.

Æ 9.5 mm. Obol 0.37. London—B. M. Cat. 37.

61 No inscription. Five-grained ear with short stem.

℞ Five-grained ear, much narrower than obverse.

Æ 9 mm. Obol. —.—— Berlin.

62 No inscription. Five-grained ear. No stem.

℞ Five-grained ear.

Æ 9 mm. Obol. —.—— Berlin.

63 No inscription. Six-grained ear.

℞ Six grained ear.

Æ 10 mm. Obol. —.—— E. S. G. Robinson Collection, London.

64 Crude. Four (?) grained ear in low relief, with leaf to left in the field.

℞ Five-grained ear.

℞ 7 mm. Obol. 0.40. Vienna.

65 $\overline{\text{MET}}$: Four-grained ear with two additional terminal grains. Coarse border.

℞ Four-grained ear—awns widely separated.

℞ 10.5 mm. Obol. —.—— Berlin.

66 $\overline{\text{MET}}$: Six-grained ear with distinctive apex.

℞ Six-grained ear.

℞ 9 mm. Obol. —.—— Naples (Santangelo) Turin, Medagliere del Rè, (Fabretti 17967—0.50).

67 $\overline{\text{MET}}$ Compact six-grained ear with small additional terminal grains.

℞ Seven-grained ear.

℞ 9 mm. Obol. —.—— Berlin.

68 $\overline{\text{ME}}(\dot{\text{T}})$ Wide six-grained ear touching border at both extremities.

℞ Six-grained ear, narrower than on Obverse.

℞ 9 mm. Obol. —.—— Berlin.

69 $\overline{\text{ME}}$ Compact five-grained ear in high relief.

℞ Six-grained ear.

℞ 9 mm. Obol. —.—— Berlin.

70 : $\overline{\text{MET}\dot{\text{A}}}$ Compact seven-grained ear in high relief.

℞ Six-grained ear with small additional terminal grains.

℞ 10 mm. Obol. —.— Henry Chapman (stock).

71 : $\overline{\text{MET}\dot{\text{T}}}$ Compact six-grained ear with widely separated terminal awns.

℞ Six-grained ear with rounded top.

℞ 9.5 mm. Obol. .40 Vienna.

72 $\underline{\text{M}}$: Six-grained ear. Border of dots between two lines.

℞ Six-grained ear.

℞ 9 mm. Obol. —.— Naples (Santangelo).

73 : $\overline{\text{MET}\dot{\text{A}}}$ Eight-grained ear with small additional terminal grains. Ear is long and narrow. The A has a rounded top and cross-bar downward to l.

℞ Ten-grained barley ear with square top.

℞ 31 mm. —.— Berlin.

74 : $\overline{\text{MET}\dot{\text{A}}}$ Six-grained ear with two additional terminal grains. The A has rounded top and cross-bar downward to l.

℞ Nine-grained barley ear, the uppermost grains small.

℞ 29 mm. —.— Arolsen; Curinga Hoard (2)—

8.00 and 8.01; Naples (Santangelo 3914); Turin, Royal Collection 8.10; W. Gedney Beatty Collection 8.14.

75 : $\overline{\text{MET}\overset{\cdot}{\text{A}}}$ Eight-grained ear with small additional terminal grains. For die-cutting Cf. No. 126. The A round-topped and with cross-bar downward to r.

℞ Nine-grained barley ear with square top. Note break in rim at extremity of outermost awn to r.

℞ 30 mm. —.—— Berlin; R. Jameson Coll. 260—ex Hirsch XVI, 91—8.19.

76 : $\overline{\text{MET}\overset{\cdot}{\text{A}}}$ Trace of stem showing. The bar of the A is downward to r. The break in the reverse die is the cause of the blank segment of the border beneath the inscription on the obverse. The break keeps the metal from being forced into the obverse die.

℞ Nine-grained ear similar to No. 75 but ear is longer.

℞ 30 mm. —.—— A. B. Cook, Cambridge; Egger XLV, 138—Hartwig 208, 8.12; Taranto H'd, 7.71.

77 : $\overline{\text{MET}\overset{\cdot}{\text{A}}}$ Eight-grained barley ear with two smaller additional terminal grains; the awns curve slightly at the outer extremities. The A with rounded top and cross-bar slightly downward to r.

℞ Nine-grained barley ear similar to No. 76 possibly an earlier state of that die.

℞ 31 mm. Stater —.—— Sir Arthur J. Evans Coll.; Curinga Hoard—8.00. Naville V, 430—8.17.

78 : $\overline{\text{META}}^{\cdot}$ Eight-grained barley ear with two small additional terminal grains. The cross-bar of the A downward to l.

℞ Seven-grained barley ear with additional terminal grain.

℞ 30.5 mm. —.—— W. B. Osgood Field Coll.; Paris; Curinga Hoard (2) 8.01 and 7.09 (?).

79 : $\overline{\text{META}}^{\cdot}$ Eight-grained barley ear in high relief similar to No. 75. The A with cross-bar downward to left.

℞ Eight-grained ear with rounded top—rim broken at extremity of outermost awn to l.

℞ 19.5 mm. —.—— C. H. Imhoff.

80 : $\overline{\text{META}}^{\cdot}$ Eight-grained barley ear in high relief. The letters of the legend very small; cross-bar of the A downward to r. Compare with No. 126.

℞ Eight-grained barley ear with rounded top.

℞ 18 mm. 2.33 Vienna.

81 : $\overline{\text{META}}^{\cdot}$ Short six-grained barley ear with small additional terminal grains. The A with

cross-bar downward to r. Compare with Nos. 53 and 58.

✠ Eight-grained ear with additional terminal grains—markedly longer than obverse ear.

✠ 18 mm. 2.16. E. T. Newell; Vienna (2.48); Cambridge (McClean, 903—2.67).

82 : $\overline{\text{META}}$ Six-grained ear with additional terminal grain. A with pointed top and cross-bar downward to right.

✠ Badly worn, but apparently six-grained ear with additional terminal grain.

✠ 18 mm. —.— Hermitage.

83 : $\overline{\text{META}}$ Six-grained barley ear. Inscription follows the rim; the A with pointed top and cross-bar downward to r.

✠ Six-grained ear with rounded top.

✠ 16.5 mm. 2.65. Pozzi Sale, 161; Berlin; Vienna (2.59).

84 $\overline{\text{META}}$: Six-grained barley ear with small additional terminal grains. Stem showing.

✠ Six-grained ear, broader at base than at apex.

✠ 18 mm. —.— Berlin; Egger XL, 155 (2.56)

CLASS IV.

85 $\overline{\text{MET}}$: The six-grained barley ear is appreciably bolder and wider.

℞ Six-grained ear. The awns have the same acute angle as on the obv.

℞ 30 mm. 7.84. Spink (Taranto Hoard), second piece 8.10; Barron Sale (Hirsch XXX, 159—8.30); Sir Arthur Evans; Naville V, 426—8.02.

86 $\overline{\text{AT}}:\overline{\text{EM}}$ Similar in style to 77. Very short stem; the nine-grained ear is consequently low on the flan. Die broken at the base of the ear.

℞ Seven-grained ear with square top, similar to No. 85 and notably different from obverse.

℞ 31 mm. 7.97. Taranto Find (Spink's Circular No. 53365); H. Chapman; Naples (Santangelo 3910).

87 $\overline{\text{TA}}:\overline{\text{ME}}$ Six-grained ear in high relief. Stem lacking.

℞ Similar to No. 86. Die broken at the centre, the surface having flaked off.

℞ 29 mm. 7.91. Taranto Find (Spink's Circular No. 53364); Berlin; 5.92 (sic); Sambon-Canessa Sale, 1907, 28—8.25.

88 $\overline{\text{ME}}:\overline{\text{TA}}$ Six-grained barley ear with small additional terminal grains. The letters larger than in No. 87. The awns are unusually thick.

℞ Ear larger than obv. and longer than in preceding pieces of Cl. III.

℞ 30.5 mm. 7.58. Berlin; Hirsch XXX, 165—8.15.

89 $\overline{\text{ME}}:\overline{\text{TA}}$ Seven-grained ear. Similar to No. 87. Short stem.

℞ Similar to No. 85. Die broken at the border on the right and recut for half of the circumference.

℞ 32 mm. 8.25. E. T. Newell; Munich; Copenhagen, 7.67; Spink & Son (Taranto Find 7.78).

90 $\overline{\text{AT}}:\overline{\text{ME}}$ Seven-grained ear with small additional terminal grains.

℞ Six-grained ear with square top.

℞ 28 mm. 8.00. Cambridge (Leake); S. P. Noe 8.13.

90a Die of No. 88.

℞ Die of No. 90.

℞ 29 mm. (flan broken). Paris (Rev. Num. 1912, Pl. IV, 9); Miami University, Oxford, O.

91 $\overline{\text{AT}}:\overline{\text{ME}}$ Similar to No. 90—possibly same die.

℞ Barley ear with six grains in side rows, and seven in middle row. The rim in various stages of mending.

℞ 30 mm. 8.22. Hoyt Miller Coll. (ex Chapman Sale July 25, 1922—Reimer's Coll.); American Numis-

matic Society, 8.25; Berlin, 8.09; Sambon-Canessa Sale, 1907, 29—8.18; C. T. Seltman, 7.55.

91a Die of No. 91.

℞ Closely similar to No. 88—possibly same die.

℞ 30 mm. Paris (Rev. Num. 1912, Pl. IV, 10); Arolsen; Spink's Circular, 53366 (7.84).

92 $\overline{\text{ME}}:\overline{\text{TA}}$ Similar to Nos. 88 and 89.

℞ Seven-grained ear with same proportions as Obv.

℞ 29.5 mm. 8.12. Vienna (= Egger XL, 150); London, B. M. Cat. 11 (Head's Guide, Pl. 7, No. 10), 8.04; Spink's Circular 53362; Athens; Bement Sale 154—8.13, W. Gedney Beatty Coll., 7.91.

93 $\overline{\text{AT}}:\overline{\text{ME}}$ Six-grained barley ear. Cable border. A die-break extends from the base of the ear above the letters at the left, to the rim, and along it to a point above the apex of the ear.

℞ Similar to 89.

℞ 31 mm. 8.35. E. T. Newell.

94 $\overline{\text{AT}}:\overline{\text{EM}}$ Six-grained ear, cable border. Short stem.

℞ Similar to No. 54. Break in center row of ear near top. Awns widely separated.

℞ 30 mm. 7.78. Cambridge (McClean Coll., 889);

London, B. M. Cat. 14—8.18; Merzbacher Sale, 1919, No. 91—8.39; Hirsch XIV, No. 83—8.17.

95 $\overline{\text{T}\dot{\text{A}}:\overline{\text{M}\dot{\text{E}}}$ Six-grained ear with small additional terminal grains; high relief. Cable border.

℞ Six-grained ear, similar to No. 93.

℞ 30 mm. ——— Sir A. J. Evans.

96 Die of No. 95.

℞ Six-grained ear, similar to No. 94—possibly same die.

℞ 32 mm. ——— Naples (Fiorelli); American Numismatic Society (flan broken).

97 $\overline{\text{M}\dot{\text{E}}:\overline{\text{T}\dot{\text{A}}}$ Seven-grained ear with border of dots between two lines. The cross-bar of the A is horizontal.

℞ Seven-grained ear with rounded apex. Awns very slight.

℞ 26 mm. 7.65. Berlin; Arolsen; Vienna, 7.85; Curinga Hoard, 8.01; E. S. G. Robinson, London.

98 $\overline{\text{A}\dot{\text{T}}:\overline{\text{M}\dot{\text{E}}}$ Eight-grained ear, slightly broader than at the apex. Stem short.

℞ Ear similar in proportions to obv. The rim is unusual. Stem does not show.

℞ 27.3 mm. 7.43. Boston Museum of Fine Arts, (Regling-Warren, 64—ex Bunbury 1896, 124).

99 $\overline{\text{M}\dot{\text{E}}:\overline{\text{T}\dot{\text{A}}}$ 6-grained barley ear.

℞ Seven-grained ear with square top.

Æ 17.5 mm. 1/3 stater 2.54. S. P. Noe; Berlin; Munich; Arolsen.

CLASS V.

100 ·META: Seven-grained barley ear. Grasshopper in field to right, its body parallel with awns and its head toward their extremities. Cable border.

℞ Dolphin to left, engraved in die and therefore with outline in relief.

Æ 28 mm. 7.85. Berlin; Hirsch XV, 533—7.53.

100a Same die as No. 100, struck over a stater of Croton. The three legs of the tripod cross the ear at right angles. The Croton stater seems to have been hammered almost flat before being re-struck—most of the details are obliterated. This is the earliest of the Metapontum staters I have found struck over the piece of another city.

℞ Same die as No. 100, but broken at the base and apex of the ear. The lines of the tripod show faintly.

Æ 28.5 mm. 7.80. Jameson Coll.

101 Die of No. 100.

℞ Six-grained ear with square top.

Æ 29 mm. 7.39. E. T. Newell.

102 ·META: Seven-grained barley ear—the stem is almost eliminated by the proximity of the

base of the ear to the rim. The inscription differs from that of No. 100 in the forms of the E and A. Grasshopper, at r., head upward.

℞ Barley ear similar in proportions to obv. At the left, in raised outline, a dolphin with head upwards.

℞ 28 mm. 8.15. Brussels (de Hirsch); Hirsch XXX, 167—8.20.

103 Die of 102.

℞ A badly worn die, unlike previous dies. Several imperfections show—at the apex of the ear, at the middle of the right row of grains, and at several points in the border. These appear to be chips from the surface of the die.

℞ 27.5 mm. 8.07. Barron Sale (Hirsch XXX, 166).

104 META: Seven-grained barley ear having grasshopper with head upwards to right. The insect is shorter than heretofore. Cable border.

℞ Ear similar in proportions to No. 102 but the dolphin with head upward on the right is *intaglio*.

℞ 27 mm. 7.87. Berlin; B. M. Cat. 15—7.50. E. T. Newell ex Jameson 259 and Delbeke Sale, 17—8.22; Paris (Babelon, *Traité* Pl. LXVI, 9—8.02); Gotha; Locker-Lampson Coll., 8.09.

105 META: Similar to No. 104 but with greater interval between the E and T. The ear

broader and in lower relief, and the grasshopper shorter. Border of dots between two lines.

℞ Seven-grained barley ear with square top. In field to left a dolphin intaglio, much smaller than in No. 104.

℞ 25½ mm. —.—— Berlin; Arolsen.

106 :MET̄ Six-grained barley ear. In field to left, grasshopper with head upward.

℞ Seven-grained ear.

℞ 18 mm. 1/3 stater. 2.46. Berlin; Boston, Warren-Regling, 68, ex Bunbury, 124—2.64; The Hague; Bement, 158—2.66.

107 MET̄: Five-grained barley ear in high relief. In field to right, a ram's head pointing downward. Compare Nos. 221-228.

℞ Five-grained ear with small additional terminal grains.

℞ 19 mm. —.—— Berlin; Arolsen.

108 MET̄: Seven-grained barley ear in high relief. In field at right a grain of barley.

℞ Six-grained ear with rounded top.

℞ 18.5 mm. 1/3 stater 2.57. A. H. Lloyd ex Bement 157; Berlin.

109 MET̄: Closely similar to 108. Variations in the inscription and awns. Possibly a re-cut die.

℞ Six-grained ear narrower than No. 108.
Border re-cut.

℞ 17 mm. 2.47. Naville, XII, 392.

110 $\overline{\text{MET}}$: Narrow six-grained ear. In the field to right a barley grain. Border of dots between two lines.

℞ Six-grained ear.

℞ 9 mm. 0.32. London, B. M. Cat. 38.

111 $\overline{\text{MET}}$ Inscription questionable. Five-grained ear with small additional terminal grains. In field to left a ram's head (?) upwards.

℞ Six-grained ear.

℞ 10 mm. —.—— Naples (Santangelo).

CLASS VI.

112 $\overline{\text{META}}$ The flan (26 mm.) is nearer in size to No. 105 than to 100 (28 mm.). Seven-grained barley ear, topmost grains very small. The A with a pointed apex and crossbar sloping downward to right. Border of dots between two linear circles.

℞ Six-grained ear with small additional terminal grain. Top of ear nearly square.

℞ mm. 8.00. Curinga Hoard; Vienna—6.46; Naples (Santangelo and Fiorelli 2311).

113 : $\overline{\text{META}}$ Similar to 112, save that the awns are much further apart. The cross-bar of the A points sharply upwards to the right.

℞ Seven-grained ear.

℞ 27 mm. 7.05. Curinga Hoard; Naples (Fiorelli 2314).

114 : $\overline{\text{META}}$ Compact eight-grained ear with small additional terminal grain.

℞ Ear of eight grains with additional terminal grain.

℞ 28 mm. —.—— Hoyt Miller Collection.

115 : $\overline{\text{META}}$ Seven-grained barley ear, the awns with more than the usual interval. The A has a rounded apex with cross-bar slightly upward to the right.

℞ Seven-grained barley ear, the topmost grain very small.

℞ 27 mm. —.—— Arolsen; American Numismatic Society—8.04.

116 : $\overline{\text{META}}$ Short six-grained barley ear with small additional terminal grains. The A is broad, round-topped, and with cross-bar slanting downward to right.

℞ Seven-grained barley ear, square-topped with awns at sharper angle than on obv.

℞ 27 mm. 8.01. Curinga Hoard.

117 : $\overline{\text{MET}}^{\cdot}$ Eight-grained ear of beautiful proportions; the outermost awns on the left curve slightly.

℞ Eight-grained ear of not uniform width. Both the ear and the border are shallow.

℞ 28 mm. —.—— Sir Arthur Evans.

118 : $\overline{\text{META}}^{\cdot}$ Eight-grained ear—the A with cross-bar downward to right. The E is archaic.

℞ Eight-grained ear.

℞ 28 mm. Stater 7.95. Milan; Naples (Fiorelli).

119 : $\overline{\text{META}}^{\cdot}$ Eight-grained barley ear with small additional terminal grains. The A with rounded top and cross-bar downward to left.

℞ Eight-grained barley ear with rounded top.

℞ 27 mm. —.—— Berlin; Spink & Son—8.00.

120 : $\overline{\text{META}}^{\cdot}$ An interval between the M and the E—the T almost touches the top of the A. The bar of the A upwards to right—a die flaw above the A between the second and third awn.

℞ Eight-grained ear, slightly broader than obverse.

℞ 27.5 mm. 7.97. Vienna; Berlin; Curinga Hoard —8.01; Hunterian 3.

121 : $\overline{\text{META}}^{\cdot}$ Eight-grained ear with small additional terminal grain. The A with rounded top and cross-bar downward to right.

℞ Nine-grained ear with square top.

℞ 27.5 mm. Stater 8.00. Hunterian 2; W. Gedney Beatty Coll. 8.20.

122 : $\overline{\text{META}}$ Eight-grained barley ear with two smaller terminal grains. The A with rounded top; cross-bar downward to left.

℞ Eight-grained ear with small additional terminal grain.

℞ 28.5 mm. 7.78. Taranto Find, Spink's Circular 53372 (and 53373); London, B. M. Cat. 9, 7.72; Copenhagen, 7.99; Curinga Hoard—8.01; S. P. Noe.

123 : $\overline{\text{META}}$ Nine-grained ear.

℞ Seven-grained barley ear with small additional terminal grain, and squared top. Die-break below the middle of the ear.

℞ 27 mm. 8.00. Curinga Hoard.

124 Die of 123.

℞ Closely similar to No. 122.

℞ 28 mm. 7.78. Taranto Find, Spink's Circular No. 53374.

125 : $\overline{\text{META}}$ Similar to No. 124, but in bolder relief. Die-break between M and E.

℞ Eight-grained ear with rounded top.

℞ 28.5 mm. ——— Berlin; Naples (Stevens); Baron S. Pennisi di Floristella, Acireale; C. T. Seltman; Naville V, 432—8.13; Hoyt Miller, ———; E. T. Newell—8.17; Ratto 1912, 245—8.22; Egger XLVI, 34—8.19.

126 :METĀ Eight-grained ear in high relief, with smaller additional terminal grain. The middle row is in considerably higher relief than the two side rows. The stem breaks the line of the rim.

℞ Closely similar to No. 125.

℞ 27.5 mm. 7.15. Brussels (de Hirsch); Vienna, 7.60.

127 :METĀ Eight-grained barley ear with tiny additional terminal grain. Inscription compact and letters small.

℞ Nine-grained barley ear; the uppermost grains have the appearance of having been re-cut.

℞ 28 mm. 8.14. Brussels (de Hirsch); Cambridge (Corpus Christi—Lewes Coll.).

128 :METĀ Seven-grained barley ear, with small additional terminal grain, the whole in low, flat relief. The letters of inscription are evenly spaced.

℞ Eight-grained ear with a rounded apex.

℞ 28 mm. —.— Munich; Vienna (7.80).

129 :METĀ Similar to No. 116. The A has rounded top and cross-bar downward to left.

℞ Seven-grained barley ear.

℞ 26 mm. 8.00. Curinga Hoard.

130 METĀ: Initial stroke of the E unusually long. Stem short, and like the vertical stroke of the T, it turns to the right at its lower extremity.

℞ Six-grained ear.

℞ 27 mm. 7.90. Vienna; Egger XL (Prowe), 149—7.75.

131 METĀ: Seven-grained barley ear, the apex is distinctive. The A with pointed top and cross-bar downward to right.

℞ Seven-grained barley ear, square top. Finely cut (recut?) border. Compare with Nos. 137 and 139.

℞ 26 mm. —.—— Berlin; Turin, 909.

132 METĀ: Die of No. 131.

℞ Seven-grained barley ear with recut (?) border. Cf. No. 28.

℞ 26 mm. 8.02. Curinga Hoard; Cambridge (McClean 898—7.94); Naville V, 66—8.20.

133 METĀ: Narrow, seven-grained barley ear, with distinctive apex.

℞ Seven-grained barley ear. Recut (?) border.

℞ 26 mm. 8.01. Curinga Hoard; Athens, 7.81; Spink & Sons—7.96.

134 METĀ: The ear is well centered, square-topped and has a short stem showing.

℞ Similar to obv. but ear slightly wider and stem wanting.

℞ 29 mm. 8.12. Bement 153 (ex Carfrae, 11 and O'Hagan, 46). Curinga Hoard—8.01; Hermitage.

135 $\overline{\text{MET}\dot{\text{A}}:\overline{\text{P}\diamond\text{NTS}}}$ Seven-grained ear with small additional terminal grains; high relief. Compare square top with that of No. 139.

℞ Seven-grained ear.

℞ 27 mm. Stater 8.00. London (ex Sir Herman Weber, 7.33 and Baron v. Berner, 1888); Naples (Fiorelli 2310—two specimens).

CLASS VII.

136 $\overline{\text{MET}\dot{\text{A}}\Gamma}$: Narrow eight-grained ear with small additional terminal grains. Border of dots between two lines. Compare with 118 and 122.

℞ Eight-grained barley ear slightly longer than obverse and with square top.

℞ 28.5 mm. —.—— Berlin.

137 $\overline{\text{MET}\dot{\text{A}}\Gamma}$: Narrow seven-grained ear. The inscription is parallel with the awns instead of following the line of the rim.

℞ The ear is narrower, less blunt at the top than No. 136 and is likewise without stem. The edge is of exceptional regularity and delicacy.

℞ 27.5 mm. 7.91. E. P. Robinson Coll. Newport;

London, B. M. Cat. 12, 7.94; Paris, 7.56; Berlin (broken flan).

138 $\overline{\text{META}\Gamma}$: The inscription follows the curve of the rim. A very narrow, nine-grained ear, of exquisite proportions.

℞ Eight-grained ear, slightly wider than on obverse.

℞ 28 mm. 7.80. Vienna.

139 $\overline{\text{META}\Gamma}$: The first three letters of the inscription are crowded together. Seven-grained ear, 19.5 x 7.7 mm.

℞ The ear is slightly broader than on obverse. Stem wanting.

℞ 26 mm. 8.11. Hoyt Miller ex Bement 155; Berlin; Naples (Fiorelli 2308); Hermitage; Pozzi Sale 158; E. T. Newell, 7.64.

140 $\overline{\text{:META}\Gamma}$ Less careful in style than No. 139. A joint or node shows beneath the ear. Compare 136.

℞ Much coarser in style than No. 139.

℞ 27 mm. 8.02. Curinga H'd; Coll. de Sartiges, 31 (ex Hirsch XI, 40); The Hague; London, B. M. Cat. 13—5.92.

141 $\overline{\text{META}\Gamma}$: Seven-grained ear with square top, lower in relief than No. 136, which see.

℞ Seven-grained ear with small additional terminal grain; the top rounded. The left row of

the ear is wider and shallower than the right; and the apex shallower than the base.

Æ 27.5 mm. —.—— Naples (Santangelo 3874).

142 : $\overline{\text{META}\Gamma}$ Seven-grained ear similar to No. 139. The inscription is retrograde as No. 140.

℞ Similar to 137 but the ear narrower.

Æ 28 mm. —.—— Naples (Fiorelli 2309).

143 : $\overline{\text{META}\Gamma}$ Thickened flan. Seven-grained ear, narrower and in high relief. Narrow cable border. The inscription in a straight line.

℞ Six-grained ear with apex touching the border, which has been recut; break shows at the left.

Æ 25 mm. 8.01. Curinga Hoard; Berlin.

144 $\overline{\text{META}\Gamma}$: Thickened flan. Seven-grained ear, wider and in lower relief than No. 143. Cable border.

℞ Six-grained ear. The lower part very coarse. The border irregular (recut?)

Æ Stater 23 mm. —.—— Berlin.

CLASS VIII.

145 : $\overline{\text{META}}$ Eight-grained ear, the two uppermost grains small. Coarse rim lacking inside linear circle. The A with rounded top and cross-

bar downward to left. The awns formed by first engraving the lines and then using a drill throughout their length.

℞ Crude seven-grained barley ear, poorly cut; the awns are engraved in the die just as on obverse. The border is very irregular. See text regarding technique.

Æ 29 mm. 8.15. Naville X 59 ex Pozzi Sale 157; Berlin.

146 :METĀ Eight-grained ear; the uppermost ones small. Coarse rim lacking inside linear circle.

℞ Eight-grained ear, very poorly cut. The awns are engraved in the die and, consequently, in relief on the coin. Border very crude; broken above the ear.

Æ 29 mm. 8.00. Dresden.

147 Die of 146.

℞ Six-grained ear with rounded top. Crude border. The awns engraved in the die.

Æ 30 mm. 8.36. London, B. M. Cat. 8.

148 :METĀ Nine-grained ear, the uppermost one very small. The A has pointed top and cross-bar is sharply upward to right. Letters of inscription thick.

℞ Poorly cut and unsymmetrical ear. The awns thick and crude. The border off-flan, show-

ing that this die is slightly larger than the obverse. Possibly not barbaric.

Æ 29 mm. —.—— Florence.

149 $\overline{\dot{\text{E}}\text{M}}:\overline{\dot{\text{A}}\text{T}}$ The seven-grained ear very crudely modelled. The lettering also coarse. Border of dots between two lines. Awns recut above letters M E.

℞ Five-grained barley ear with two smaller terminal grains. The border is much cruder than even the earliest of the preceding series; and although the awns are cut in a similar way, the workmanship is of the coarsest. The die is broken at the upper right.

Æ 30½ mm. 7.91. Berlin.

150 $\overline{\dot{\text{E}}\text{M}}:\overline{\dot{\text{A}}\text{T}}$ Eight (?) -grained barley ear in high relief, with middle row well defined. The awns are widely separated and the inscription is crude. The A of the inscription is of unusual form. The border is a series of separated dots between two continuous lines.

℞ Die of No. 149.

Æ 30 mm. 7.78. Taranto Find, Spink's Circular, 53363; Vatican.

151 $\overline{\dot{\text{M}}\text{E}}\text{T}\overline{\dot{\text{A}}}$ Seven-grained barley ear, the topmost grains smaller than the others. A with pointed top and cross-bar slightly downward to right. Border of dots between two lines. The

style heavy and crude. The die has been recut, and traces of a former inscription are visible in the field to left where $\overline{\text{TA}}$: can be deciphered. The awns of the first state of the die show at left and right.

℞ Seven-grained barley ear with rounded top; the awns are broad (recut?).

℞ 28 mm. 6.08 (?) Curinga Hoard; American Numismatic Society—6.12; G. Empedocles—8.00.

152 $\overline{\text{ME}}:\overline{\text{TA}}$ Broad, seven-grained ear with small additional terminal grain. The border coarse. The E is of unusual form. The middle row shows a line extending from the base to the apex.

℞ Seven-grained ear with small additional terminal grain. The middle row also shows a line (an awn?) extending from base to apex. The border is unlike any occurring elsewhere in the Metapontine series, but similar to that used at Sybaris.

℞ Stater 30 mm. 7.64. Sir H. Weber Coll., 736.

153 $\overline{\text{ME}}\perp$: Nine-grained ear in low relief, the grains smaller on the right than in the left row. The border a crude linear circle, outside of which are crude dots.

℞ Nine-grained ear tapering slightly toward top. Usual border.

℞ 28 mm. Stater 8.54. E. T. Newell.

154 : $\overline{\text{META}}$ Broad six-grained barley ear with small additional terminal grain. The inscription compact; the A with cross-bar downward to right. Cable border.

℞ Six-grained barley ear. Very broad awns are engraved in the die and, therefore, in relief on the coin. The border crude and apparently not recut.

℞ 25 mm. —.— Berlin.

154a $\overline{\text{MET}}$: Crude six-grained barley ear with coarse awns. Border of large dots between two lines.

℞ Five-grained ear.

℞ 18.5 mm. 1/3 Stater —.— Paris.

154b : $\overline{\text{METP}}$ Narrow seven-grained ear tapering toward apex. Border of dots. The whole differing markedly in style from other pieces in the series.

℞ Small bull's head incuse with absurdly long horns curving downward. The border differs from the others of the series, Nos. 264-296.

℞ 12.5 mm. 1.40. Berlin; Vienna (1.16).

154c $\overline{\text{META}}$: Crude six-grained ear with tiny additional terminal grains. Border of dots on a raised rim. Stem very short.



\mathfrak{R} Six-grained ear with rounded top. The awns are similar to those of Nos. 145-147.

\mathfrak{R} 30 mm. 7.72 E. T. Newell (ex Sambon, 1927. Sale, Obv. of 298. Rev. of 299 on Pl. X).

CLASS IX.

155 $\overline{\text{MET}}$ Broad six-grained ear with two small additional grains.

\mathfrak{R} Broad seven-grained ear, touching the rim at top and bottom. The awns are thick. The border is recut as is also the ear in the upper left row.

\mathfrak{R} 24 mm. 7.47. —.—— Berlin (plated?).

156 $\overline{\text{MET}}$ Six-grained ear with additional terminal grain. Compact inscription.

\mathfrak{R} Shallow six-grained ear. Coarse border.

Æ 25 mm. —.— Berlin; C. H. Imhoff Coll.

157 : $\overline{\text{META}}$ Five-grained ear with small additional terminal grain. The A with pointed top and cross-bar slightly downward to right.

℞ Six-grained ear with rounded top.

Æ Stater 24 mm. 7.90. Naville V, 433; Copenhagen—7.94.

158 : $\overline{\text{META}}$ Similar to 157—the ear in higher relief. The inscription differs slightly.

℞ Six-grained ear, wider than on obverse.

Æ 24 mm. —.— Canessa, Naples.

159 : $\overline{\text{META}}$ Five-grained ear with small additional terminal grain. Interval between T and A.

℞ Similar to 158—possibly same die.

Æ 25 mm. —.— Naples.

160 : $\overline{\text{META}}$ Six-grained ear, the topmost grains small. The A has pointed top and cross-bar, slightly downward to left. Rim of more than usual width—the flan slightly smaller.

℞ Six-grained ear.

Æ 23.5 mm. 7.85. E. T. Newell; Naples (Santangelo).

161 : $\overline{\text{META}}$ Six-grained ear. The A has a pointed top with nearly horizontal cross-bar.

℞ Six-grained ear—double-struck. The original impress was upside down.

℞ 22 mm. 7.54. Vienna.

162 : $\overline{\text{META}}^{\cdot}$ Six-grained ear with square top. Letters of inscription very large, filling the field to right. The A with pointed top and cross-bar downward to left.

℞ Shallow six-grained ear.

℞ Stater 22 mm. 8.04. Spink & Son; Hermitage; Naples.

163 Plated. : $\overline{\text{META}}^{\cdot}$ Both ear and inscr. of poor style. Border of dots on raised rim.

℞ Copper core shows plainly at left.

℞ Plated. 24 mm. —.— Commerce.

164 : $\overline{\text{META}}^{\cdot}$ Six-grained ear with small additional terminal grain. The top of the A rounded, the cross-bar slants pronouncedly downward to the right.

℞ Seven-grained ear.

℞ 24 mm. —.— Berlin; London, B. M. Cat. 17—8.05; Cambridge; Paris; Munich; Naples (Santangelo).

165 : $\overline{\text{META}}^{\cdot}$ Six-grained ear with small additional terminal grains. The awns curve outward slightly. The A with rounded top and cross-bar downward to right.

℞ Seven-grained ear, broader than obverse.

℞ 24 mm. 8.01. Curinga Hoard; Naville V, 434—7.98; Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me.

166 :METĀ Six-grained ear with small additional terminal grains. The A has pointed top and cross-bar downward to right.

℞ Six-grained ear with rounded top.

℞ 25 mm. 8.00. Curinga Hoard.

167 :METĀ On this coin, and on the others of plate XIV (i. e. Nos. 161-178 inclusive) the barley ear has six grains in the left row, with a small additional terminal grain. The form of the A is taken as the easiest means of distinguishing the varieties. A with rounded top and cross-bar downward to right.

℞ Six-grained ear with additional terminal grain. The die broken at lowest grain of the middle row.

℞ 25 mm. 7.97. Cambridge (McClean) 892; Paris.

168 :METĀ Similar to 167—inscription varies.

℞ Grains at apex and base smaller than others—the lowest in the left row little more than a line.

℞ 23.5 mm. 8.00. Curinga Hoard; Sir A. J. Evans.

169 : $\overline{\text{META}}^{\cdot}$ A with pointed top and cross-bar downward to r.

℞ Die of 168.

℞ 25 mm. 8.09. London, B. M. Cat. 18; Spink's Circular 53383—7.06.

170 : $\overline{\text{META}}^{\cdot}$ The A has a pointed top. The cross-bar is inclined slightly downward to right.

℞ Seven-grained barley ear, topmost grains very small.

℞ 24.5 mm. —.—— Munich.

171 : $\overline{\text{META}}^{\cdot}$ Similar to 170. The A as in 168.

℞ Six-grained ear with small additional terminal grains.

℞ 24 mm. 8.00. Curinga (Catanzaro) Hoard; Naples (Fiorelli 2320, Santangelo 3939 and one other).

172 : $\overline{\text{META}}^{\cdot}$ Closely similar to 170—possibly same die.

℞ Possibly same die as 171.

℞ 24 mm. Stater 8.00. Curinga Hoard; Milan (?); Spink & Son—8.05.

173 : $\overline{\text{META}}^{\cdot}$ The cross-bar of the A downward to left; the awns to the left show double cutting.

℞ Seven-grained ear with breaks in centre row at top and bottom.

Æ 25.5 mm. Stater 7.98. Cambridge (McClean) 890; Naples (Santangelo).

174 : $\overline{\text{MET}\overset{\cdot}{\text{A}}}$ Ear in high relief. The A with pointed top and cross-bar downward to right. The E has archaic form.

℞ Six-grained barley ear. Recut border.

Æ 25 mm. 8.00. Curinga Hoard (2nd spec. 8.01); Naples (Fiorelli 2322).

175 : $\overline{\text{MET}\overset{\cdot}{\text{A}}}$ Similar to 173, save that the A has the cross-bar downward to right.

℞ Eight-grained barley ear, the two topmost grains smaller than the others.

Æ 24.5 mm. —.—— Toronto.

176 : $\overline{\text{MET}\overset{\cdot}{\text{A}}}$ Similar to 175 save for inscription.

℞ Similar to 168—border and ear recut.

Æ 24 mm. 8.01. Curinga Hoard.

177 : $\overline{\text{MET}\overset{\cdot}{\text{A}}}$ Ear similar to 173—the A with cross-bar downward to right.

℞ Seven-grained barley ear.

Æ 24 mm. —.—— Berlin.

178 : $\overline{\text{MET}\overset{\cdot}{\text{A}}}$ A with pointed top and cross-bar downward to left.

℞ Shallow six-grained ear with small additional terminal grain and crude border.

Æ 25 mm. —.—— Naples.

179 :META Six-grained ear with small additional terminal grain. The A with rounded top and cross-bar downward to right. Cable border.

℞ Six (?) grained ear.

℞ 24 mm. —.—— Hoyt Miller Coll.

180 :META Similar to 175, save in spacing of letters of inscription.

℞ Similar to 170.

℞ mm. 8.00. Hoyt Miller Coll.

181 :META Seven-grained ear.

℞ Seven-grained ear.

℞ 24 mm. 8.01. Curinga Hoard.

182 :META Narrow, seven-grained ear. The A pointed and with cross-bar downward to left.

℞ Six-grained ear.

℞ 24 mm. 8.05. Vienna; Athens (struck over a Selinus (?) didrachm) 8.03; E. Beesley Collection; Curinga Hoard—8.05.

183 :META Broad seven-grained ear. The A has pointed top and cross-bar downward to right.

℞ Seven-grained ear.

℞ 25 mm. —.—— Munich.

184 :META Seven-grained ear—the middle

row in more than usually high relief. Inscription follows curve of narrow cable border.

℞ Ear touches border at apex and base.

℞ 25 mm. 8.10. Spink's Circular 70328; Egger XL, 151, 7.99; Arolsen.

185 : $\overline{\text{META}}$ Seven-grained ear. The A has pointed top and cross-bar downward to left.

℞ Six-grained ear of even width.

℞ 24 mm. —. — Arolsen.

186 : $\overline{\text{META}}$ Seven-grained ear; the topmost grain smaller. Cable border. The A is distinctive.

℞ Die of 185.

℞ 23.5 mm. 8.11. Curinga Hoard; American Numismatic Society—7.80.

187 : $\overline{\text{META}}$ Narrow seven-grained ear. The A with rounded top and cross-bar downward to r.

℞ Six-grained barley ear. Die broken in the rim at left.

℞ 24 mm. 8.00. Curinga Hoard.

188 : $\overline{\text{META}}$ Similar to No. 187, save that the letters of the inscription are larger and the A is different.

℞ Six-grained ear, slightly broader than obverse. Die broken at the rim on right.

℞ 25 mm. 8.01. Curinga Hoard.

189 :MĒTĀ The eight-grained ear is long and narrow, the A similar to that of No. 186.

℞ Six-grained ear; touches border at apex. Border recut?

℞ 25 mm. —.—— Berlin; Curinga Hoard—8.00; Spink's Circular 53383a. B. M. Cat. 16—8.12; Naville XII, 388—8.10.

190 MĒ-TH Seven-grained ear—compare with 180. The traces of a pointed top A are visible on the cast. This has been changed by the addition of a stroke which makes the letter seem an H.

℞ Seven-grained ear—unusually short.

℞ 23 mm. 7.87. Berlin.

191 :MĒT Six-grained ear with small additional terminal grains. Border of dots between two lines.

℞ Six-grained ear. Recut border—note pivot mark at center of die.

℞ 23.5 mm. 8.01. Curinga Hoard (and four others—each weighing 8.00); Vienna, 7.76, 8.10; Cambridge (McClean 900—7.85); Egger XLV, 140—7.14; Berlin; E. S. G. Robinson, London.

192 :MĒTĀ Six-grained ear with small additional terminal grains. Wide cable border.

℞ Six-grained ear.

℞ 24 mm. 8.03. Berlin; Curinga Hoard—8.01;

London, B. M. Cat. 21—8.26; Naples (Fiorelli 2338, 2340 and 2341).

193 : $\overline{\text{META}}$ Similar to 192 but less high in relief.

℞ Eight-grained ear touching border at top and bottom.

℞ 24 mm. —.— Paris; Spink's Circular 53384 (7.52); E. Beesley Collection; Curinga Hoard—8.01; Copenhagen—8.03.

194 : $\overline{\text{META}}$ Seven-grained ear, the topmost grains smaller than the others. The grains in right row are higher than their corresponding ones in the left row. Guilloche border.

℞ Seven-grained ear. Border recut—note pivot mark at center of ear.

℞ 25 mm. 8.01. Curinga Hoard (2).

195 : $\overline{\text{META}}$ Possibly same die as 193.

℞ Seven-grained ear, touching border at apex.

℞ 23.5 mm. 7.86. Vienna; Commerce.

196 $\overline{\text{MET}}$: Six-grained ear.

℞ Six-grained ear, much broader than on obv.; touches border at apex.

℞ 23 mm. 8.08. E. T. Newell; Vienna.

197 $\overline{\text{MET}}$: Seven-grained ear.

℞ Seven-grained ear. Recut border.

Æ 23.5 mm. —.—— Berlin; Curinga Hoard—8.00.

198 MET: Six-grained ear in high relief, the topmost grain small.

℞ Six-grained ear.

Æ 22 mm. —.—— Berlin.

199 MET: Six-grained ear. Die-crack through first two letters of inscription. Uppermost grain in left row not uniform with right.

℞ Six-grained ear. Recut border.

Æ 23 mm. Naples (Fiorelli 2291); Curinga Hoard, 8.01, (2).

200 METÀ: Six-grained ear. Possibly die of No. 199 recut and with A of inscription added. Note the die-crack. Guilloche border.

℞ Five-grained ear slightly larger than on obverse.

Æ 23 mm. —.—— Paris; Vienna; W. Gedney Beatty Collection—8.17.

201 METÀ: Six-grained ear is in higher relief than No. 199. The A is nearly square topped and with cross-bar downward to right.

℞ The six-grained ear extends from rim to rim.

Æ 28.5 mm. —.—— Dr. Van Buren Collection, Rome; Naples (Fiorelli 2332 and Santangelo); Curinga Hoard (2), 8.00; London, B. M. Cat. 19—7.92.

202 METĀ: Six-grained ear similar to No. 200, but the inscr. more extended.

℞ Six-grained ear, the topmost grains smaller than the others.

℞ 23 mm. 8.01. Curinga Hoard, (2).

203 METĀ: Six-grained ear similar to No. 200. Inscr. slightly more extended with differences in the E and A.

℞ Six-grained ear.

℞ 23 mm. 8.00. Curinga Hoard. Cambridge (McClean 894—8.11).

204 METĀ: Six-grained ear. Die-break shows between second and third grains in right row. A with cross-bar downward to left.

℞ Six-grained ear.

℞ 24 mm. —.—— Berlin; Naples, Fiorelli (2334); Copenhagen, 7.69; London, B. M. Cat. 20—8.02 (struck over archaic Corinthian Stater—illus. Head, Guide to Coins of the Ancients, Pl. VII, 11. The identification of this type is not certain because details have been eliminated in the striking).

205 Same die as No. 204, but with the break further developed and with the inscr. recut; the A has cross-bar downward to r. whereas in the first state of the die it was downward to l.

℞ Die of No. 204.

℞ 24 mm. —.—— Berlin; Naples 3886.

206 METĀ: Six-grained ear, the topmost pair of grains smaller than the others.

℞ Six-grained ear with recut border.

℞ 24 mm. —. — Florence; Curinga Hoard; Copenhagen, 8.02.

207 METĀ: Six-grained ear; cable border of more than usual width.

℞ Six-grained ear slightly broader than on Obv. and with dot at centre as in 233 (evidence of re-cut border).

℞ 24 mm. 8.14. Sir H. Weber, 735 (ex Von Wotoch, 101 ?); Vienna; Paris; Curinga Hoard—8.01; Sir A. J. Evans.

208 METĀ: Seven-grained ear with small additional terminal grains. Guilloche border.

℞ Eight-grained ear touching rim at top and bottom.

℞ 25 mm. Stater 8.13 Cambridge (McClean—895). Cambridge (Leake)—7.83.

CLASS X.

209 MET: Seven-grained barley ear. Large lizard with head upward at r. Border of dots between two lines.

℞ Similar to No. 196. Six-grained barley ear. The border is coarsely cut; the specimen last

described shows it much finer and possibly the border has been recut after wearing down. The die-break across ear shows in all the pieces described below.

Æ 24.5 mm. —.—— Pozzi Coll. 160, 8.03; American Numismatic Society; Cambridge (McClean 904—7.80); A. H. Lloyd Coll.

210 Die of No. 209.

℞ Possibly the same die as No. 82 with the border and awns recut. Note the break across the middle of the ear.

Æ 25 mm. —.—— (Feuardent).

211 MET: Six grained ear, with a lizard in field to right, that is smaller than the one on 209. This symbol as well as the flan is somewhat smaller than on Nos. 209, 210.

℞ Seven-grained ear with re-cut border.

Æ 24 mm. 8.00. Curinga Hoard, (2).

212 MET: Six-grained ear. At r. a small lizard with head upward.

℞ Seven-grained ear.

Æ 23 mm. 8.11. A. H. Lloyd Coll. ex Coll. Marquis Ginori; Paris, (De Luynes 454—8.00); Berlin; Naville V, 437—8.03.

213 MET: Six-grained barley ear, the top-most grains small, higher in relief than No. 212

and narrower. Possibly recut die of 212. At r., a small lizard, head upwards.

℞ Six-grained barley ear having proportions of obv.

⌘ 21.8 mm. 7.55. Spink's Circular 53388; Vienna; Naples (Fiorelli 2302).

214 MET: Six-grained ear, tapering slightly toward top. The lizard at r. has head and body curved toward ear. The M touches lower grain at l.

℞ Broad seven-grained ear, wider than obv.

⌘ 22½ mm. Stater 7.58. E. S. G. Robinson.

215 MET: Six-grained ear. In field to r. a lizard—higher on flan than in preceding.

℞ Seven-grained ear with re-cut border.

⌘ 22 mm. 8.01. Curinga H'd; Copenhagen, 8.02; Gotha; Berlin; Egger XL, 153—801.

216 MET: Six-grained ear. In field to right small lizard with head upward. The M of the inscription nearly touches the mid-stroke of the E.

℞ Similar to No. 212.

⌘ 22.5 mm. Naples (Fiorelli 2301 and two others); Berlin; Sir Arthur Evans; Vienna—7.90.

217 MET: Six-grained ear. Small lizard to r., head upwards. Guilloche Border.

℞ Similar to No. 212. Border possibly re-cut.

Æ 22 mm. 7.41. E. T. Newell; Sir Arthur J. Evans.

218 :ATEṀ Eight-grained barley ear in bold relief. At the left, a small lizard, head downward, the body forming a double curve. Note that the flan although large, does not accommodate the border.

℞ Eight-grained ear.

Æ 24.5 mm. —.—— C. H. Imhoff.

219 :MEṪ Seven-grained ear, with rounded apex. At the l., a lizard (?), head upward, seen from the side; the legs touch the border, and the body forms an almost straight line. Border very unusual—showing that the die-cutter had not grasped the method used on other pieces. Possibly modern.

℞ Six-grained ear.

Æ 20 mm. 7.61. E. T. Newell.

220 :MEṪ Six-grained ear, the topmost ones notably smaller than the others. In field to l. ram's head upward.

℞ Six-grained ear.

Æ 20 mm. 7.77. Copenhagen.

221 :METÀ̇ The A larger than the other letters in the inscription. Six-grained ear. Border of dots between two lines. At r. a ram's head

pointing upward, the cross-section squared. Border of dots on a raised rim.

℞ Six-grained ear, with usual border.

℞ 20 mm. 8.07. Bement 161; London—7.78; Paris; Berlin—7.96; Naples (Fiorelli 2298); S. R. Milbank—7.64.

222 :METÄ Similar to 221—the ram's head larger.

℞ Six-grained ear.

℞ 20 mm. —.—— Berlin; Baron S. Pennisi di Floristella, Acireale; E. T. Newell—7.51; Vatican; Cambridge (McClean 905)—7.86; Sir Arthur Evans; London, B. M. Cat. 27—7.76.

223 :MET Five-grained ear with small additional terminal grains. To the l., a ram's head upward, similar to 221.

℞ Six (?)—grained ear.

℞ 19.5 mm. Stater 8.03. Sir H. Weber Coll. 744; Gotha; Munich; Naples (Fiorelli 2307—struck over(?)); Copenhagen, 7.77; E. S. G. Robinson, London; Naville V. 436—7.82.

224 :MET Broad, five-grained ear with small additional terminal grain. The awns are coarse and more extended than in any of the pieces of this series. Large ram's head (upward) to l. *Plated.*

℞ Six-grained ear, of good workmanship.

℞ 205 mm. 6.42. Pozzi Sale, 159. Another plated piece—similar—5.64, is in Vienna.

225 ·META: Beautifully proportioned six-grained ear. At r. a ram's head pointing upward, the lower jaw next the ear.

℞ Die of 223.

℞ 18 mm. 7.97. E. T. Newell.

226 MET(·A): Five-grained ear. To the right a large ram's head upward with the lower jaw next to the ear.

℞ Similar to 223.

℞ 18 mm. —.—— Munich; Hoyt Miller Coll.—7.56.

227 ·ME:·T·A Six-grained ear. At the left, small ram's head (?) upward with lower jaw next to the ear.

℞ Similar to 223.

℞ 18 mm. 7.85. Vienna.

228 Probably same die as 226.

℞ ·ME:T·A Inscr. engraved in die.

℞ 17 mm. —.—— Berlin; Copenhagen—8.02.

229 :MET·A Six-grained ear. In field to left, murex slanting diagonally to left.

℞ T·A:·ME Six-grained ear with awns as well as the inscription engraved in the die.

℞ 15 mm. —.—— Naples (Stevens Coll. and Fiorelli 2300). Dr. Petsalis Coll., Athens.

230 Die of 229.

℞ Die of 228.

Æ 16 mm. Stater —.—— Naples (Fiorelli 2299).

231 :METĀ Seven-grained barley ear. To the left, a mule's head upward and with the lower jaw next to the ear. Border of dots on a raised rim.

℞ Seven-grained barley ear.

Æ 19 mm. 8.15. Paris (De Luynes 456); Cambridge (McClellan 907—6.81); Vienna—7.57.

232 :METĀ Seven-grained ear of great crudity. Border of dots between two lines. In field to left, an indefinite symbol—a ram's (?) head upward, or possibly the symbol of No. 231.

℞ Six-grained ear with central dot indicating re-cut border.

Æ 22.5 mm. Stater 7.14. Cambridge (McClellan, 901).

CLASS XI.

233 :METĀ Six-grained ear. Border of dots on slightly raised rim.

℞ Six-grained ear. Border incomplete or broken at lower l.

Æ 19 mm. —.—— Cleveland Museum; Hunterian 4—7.28 (struck over Corcyra stater)—see Pl. XIX.

234 Die of 233.

℞ Recut border—note application point of device used for recutting border at center of ear. Originally die of 233?

Æ 20 mm. 8.10. E. T. Newell; Berlin; Munich; Hoyt Miller Coll., ex Stiavelli Sale 60—8.14; A. H. Lloyd Coll. (ex Naville V, 435)—8.13.

Struck over Agrigentum:

Berlin,

Paris (De Luynes 455—8.10).

London (ex Hasbrouck Coll. 8.12).

Bement (160—8.10).

Syracuse:

Paris—Bab. Traité 2078—8.08.

Corinth:

Gotha.

Gela:

Paris (De Luynes 458—8.00).

London (B. M. Cat. 25—8.15).

Corcyra (Dyrrachium according to Babelon, Fils):

Paris (De Luynes 460—8.05).

235 Die of 233—the rim not struck up.

℞ Six-grained ear with weak border which explains weak border on obverse.

Æ 20 mm. 8.00. London, B. M. Cat. 23.

236 Similar to No. 233 but the ear is smaller and the inscription more compact. Border of dots on raised rim.

℞ Shallow six-grained ear and border.

Æ 21 mm. 7.93. Copenhagen; Hermitage; Baron Pennisi di Floristella.

237 Die of 236. Struck over Corinthian (?) didrachm.

℞ Small six-grained ear—border broken at lower l. Note awns at apex of ear.

℞ 20 mm. 7.95. Paris (de Luynes 457).

238 :METĀ Six-grained ear in high relief. Inscr. followed curve of border.

℞ Six-grained ear. Recut border.

℞ 20 m. —.—— Berlin.

239 :METĀ Six-grained ear. Border off flan.

℞ Five-grained ear. Border recut.

℞ 18 mm. —.—— Berlin.

240 :METĀ Six-grained ear with small additional terminal grains. The A with pointed top and crossbar slightly downward to right.

℞ Seven-grained ear with small additional terminal grains.

℞ 19.5 mm. 6.97. Vienna.

241 :M(—)? Six-grained ear; border of dots on a raised rim.

℞ Six-grained ear.

℞ 19.5 mm. —.—— Paris.

242 :MET Six-grained ear with raised border.

℞ Six-grained ear larger than that of obv.

Æ 20 mm. Stater —.—— Naples (Fiorelli 2342), Sir A. Evans (not certainly this type) over stater of Thasos.

243 :METĀ Seven-grained ear with additional terminal grains. A with rounded top and cross-bar downwards to left. Border of dots between two lines.

℞ Seven-grained ear with small additional terminal grains—ear with rounded top.

Æ 18.5 mm. —.—— Naples (Fiorelli 2326).

244 :METĀ Six-grained ear. Border of dots on raised rim (possibly cable border).

℞ Six-grained ear with square top.

Æ 19.5 mm. 8.16. London, B. M. Cat., 22; Naples (Fiorelli 2345); Copenhagen, 7.62 (?).

245 :MET Compact six-grained ear. The letters of the inscription are badly cut.

℞ Six-grained barley ear.

Æ 19 mm. 8.11. Boston (Regling-Warren 65 ?—traces of millsail incuse under type).

246 :MĒ Six-grained ear in bold relief. The border is a raised band with some traces of dots.

℞ :MET Six-grained ear. The awns and inscriptions engraved in die and therefore in relief on coin.

118 THE COINAGE OF

Æ 17 mm. —.—— Berlin; Hoyt Miller Coll., ex Naville XII, 391—8.04.

247 TĀ:MĒ Narrow six-grained ear with square top.

℞ AT:MĒ engraved in die and, therefore, in relief on coin. These letters are so slight that it is difficult to see them except on well-preserved specimens. They fail to carry through the photographer's process, and therefore do not show on the plates.

Æ 17.5 mm. —.—— American Numismatic Society; Dresden, 8.04; London; Berlin; G. Empedocles, Athens—7.80.

248 :METĀ Six-grained ear, with folioles at base as in first incuse coinage. In field at l. an "x".

℞ Barley ear with same proportions as obv. with "x" in the field at both left and right—possibly punched in die as the letters are in relief on the coin.

Æ 18 mm. —.—— Berlin; Cambridge (McClean, 108—ex Egger XL, 154—7.84).

249 :METĀ Six-grained ear with small additional terminal grains. The A of the inscription has the cross-bar horizontal; the die is broken at the letter E, giving it a crescent shape.

℞ Six-grained ear with square top.

Æ 17 mm. —.—— Berlin; Cambridge (McClean, 909—7.31).

250 Six-grained ear or possibly a die-break that has obliterated the inscr. The border, a markedly raised rim.

℞ Six-grained ear; the flan shows the "ears" which are found on the Syracuse tetradrachms and elsewhere.

Æ 16 mm. —.—— Wayte Raymond; Baron S. Pennisi di Floristella, Acireale; American Numismatic Society.

251 METĀ: Six-grained ear. The A is pointed and has the cross-bar very slightly downward to the right.

℞ Ear with seven grains. Traces of overstriking.

Æ 18 mm. 7.97. Boston (Regling 66—ex Bunsbury 124). Vienna.

252 METĀ: Six-grained ear. Border of dots between two lines.

℞ Six-grained ear. Recut border.

Æ 19 mm. —.—— Berlin.

253 METĀ: Six-grained ear, the awns curving outward slightly.

℞ Six-grained ear. Border recut.

Æ 20 mm. 8.01. Curinga Hoard; Naples (Fiorelli 2336); Naples—(struck over Gela didr.).

254 METĀ: Six-grained ear in high relief. Border of dots between two lines.

℞ Six-grained ear with square top. Border possibly recut.

℞ 18 mm. —.—— Naples (Fiorelli 2337).

255 METĀ: Small six-grained ear in moderately high relief. Border of dots between two lines.

℞ Five-grained ear, and two small additional terminal grains.

℞ 21 mm. 7.83. E. T. Newell; London, B. M. Cat. 24—7.72; Jameson—8.16 (struck over Gela stater—inscription legible on R.).

256 Six-grained ear. The inscription divided; on the left, the letter T or E discernible; on the right, the lower of the two letters is a pointed-top A with cross-bar downward to r. The second letter resembles the archaic I with three strokes. Of barbaric style.

℞ Six-grained ear; the style crude. No middle row of grains.

℞ 17 mm. 7.04. Berlin.

257 :METĀ Narrow seven-grained ear of very delicate proportions; the raised border is off flan. Note that this die is combined with what must, for that reason, be considered one of the earliest double-relief types, Plate XX.

℞ Narrow seven-grained ear. Border indefinite.

Æ 20 mm. Stater —.—— Naples (Fiorelli 2323).

CLASS XII.

258 META: Eight-grained ear—the topmost ones very small. Along the outermost awn to r. a locust with head downward. Border of dots (without a raised rim).

℞ Seven-grained ear.

Æ 21 mm. 8.25. Paris (Luynes 453); Spink's Circular 53389—7.78; London, B. M. Cat. 26 (Over Corinth)—7.78; Copenhagen—7.21; Cambridge (McClean 906—5.25, plated); Bement 162—7.74; G. Empedocles, Athens—8.05; Egger XLVI, 35 (ex Hirsch XXXIII, 134).

259 Closely similar to 258, and possibly the same die, with some re-cutting especially in the thorax of the locust.

℞ Possibly the die of No. 90, with recut border and awns; the latter are here slightly curved.

Æ 20.5 mm. Stater —.—— Berlin; Paris.

260 :META Broad six-grained ear in pronounced relief; on the outermost awn to the l. a locust with head upward; the rim, evidently an attempt to cut a guilloche border, shows the die-cutter's inability to understand the method of doing it.

℞ META: Seven-grained ear.

℞ 19 mm. 7.75. Berlin; E. T. Newell 8.33; Vienna; Dresden.

261 :ATEM Six-grained ear; on the outermost awn to l. a locust with head upward. Narrow cable border on a raised rim. This die is also combined with the famous stater inscribed $A\downarrow E\Lambda\Diamond S\Diamond AE\Diamond\Lambda\Diamond\mathbb{N}$ (Plate XXI).

℞ Eight-grained ear, much longer than on obv. The rim is unlike any others of the series.

℞ 21 mm. 7.63. E. T. Newell; Naples (Fiorelli 2306 and Santangelo 3952, the latter struck over Corinthian stater type of B. M. Corinth Pl. II, 5 (?); Hermitage.

FRACTIONS.

264 Without inscription. Six-grained ear. Border of dots between two lines.

℞ Ox head incuse with horns curved downward. Border similar to that of thick flan incuse staters. Note dot at center of die.

℞ 13 mm. Diobol ——— Berlin, (2); Copenhagen; Naville VI, 442—1.34.

265 Without inscription. Six-grained ear similar to 264, but with a greater interval between awns.

℞ Narrow ox head, incuse.

Æ 13 mm. Diobol 1.25. Dresden; London, B. M.
Cat. 43—1.32.

266 No inscription. Coarse five-grained ear.

℞ Ox head, incuse.

Æ 13 mm. Diobol —.— Commerce.

267 No inscr. Similar to 264.

℞ Ox head, incuse. The horn to r. recut (?).

Æ 12 mm. —.— E. T. Newell.

268 : $\overline{\text{ME}}$ Compact six-grained ear which
does not touch rim at base.

℞ Similar to 264, save that the horns are
short, and sharply curved.

Æ 13 mm. Diobol 1.22. Vienna.

269 : $\overline{\text{ME}}$ Five-grained ear.

℞ Ox head, incuse. The horn to right is the
longer. The forehead is decorated by concentric
semi-circular lines.

Æ 13 mm. Diobol 1.24. Naville, VI, 440.

270 Die of 269.

℞ Ox-head incuse—forehead with three semi-
circular rows of dots.

Æ 13 mm. —.— H. A. Green, Providence, R. I.

271 $\overline{\text{ME}}$: Five-grained ear.

℞ Ox head incuse.

Æ 13 mm. Diobol 1.25. Naville VI, 439.

272 $\overline{\text{MET}}$: Five-grained ear with barbs on outside of the awns. Border of dots between two lines.

℞ Ox head, incuse, with top of r. horn slightly higher than l.

℞ 12.5 mm. Diobol 0.68. Bement Sale 163; Vienna (1.00); Munich.

273 $\overline{\text{MET}}$: Broad five-grained ear.

℞ Ox head incuse. Straight horns, downward.

℞ 12 mm. Diobol —.—— Berlin.

274 $\overline{\text{MET}}$: Five-grained ear broader at the base than at the top.

℞ Ox head, incuse.

℞ 12 mm. Diobol 1.08. Vienna.

275 $:\overline{\text{MET}}$ Six-grained ear.

℞ Ox head incuse.

℞ 13.5 mm. Diobol —.—— Berlin and second piece; Arolsen Coll.; Vienna (1.09), Cambridge (McClean 910—1.20). Egger XLV, 141—1.16.

276 $:\overline{\text{MET}}$ Five-grained ear with small additional terminal grains.

℞ Ox head incuse.

℞ 12.5 mm. Diobol —.—— Berlin; Vienna (1.26); E. T. Newell (1.13).

277 $:\overline{\text{MET}}$ Five-grained ear.

℞ Ox head with short horns, slightly curved downward. Forehead bears granular decoration.

℞ 13 mm. Diobol 1.24. Copenhagen.

278 : $\overline{\text{MET}}$ Five-grained ear with additional terminal awns. Inscription less compact than 277.

℞ Ox head, incuse. The forehead has linear, and the muzzle granular decoration.

℞ 11.5 mm. Diobol 0.98. London, 41.

279 : $\overline{\text{MET}}$ Compact five-grained ear in high relief, with additional terminal awns. Ear does not touch the rim at the base.

℞ Similar to foregoing.

℞ 12 mm. Diobol 1.32. Sartiges Cat. 32.

280 : $\overline{\text{MET}}$ Five-grained ear with small additional terminal grains. Cable border.

℞ Ox head incuse.

℞ 12.5 mm. Diobol 1.14. Vienna.

281 : $\overline{\text{MET}}$ Five-grained ear with the leaf in the field to the left.

℞ Ox head, incuse, with short and only slightly curved horns.

℞ 13 mm. Diobol 1.24. Cambridge, McClean, 912; Vienna, 1.08; Munich.

282 : $\overline{\text{MET}}$ Crude five-grained ear with very broad base—possibly double struck.

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℞ Ox head incuse.

℞ 12 mm. Diobol 0.98. Pozzi, 162.

283 $\overline{\text{META}}$: Six-grained ear in high relief. Border of dots between two lines.

℞ Ox head incuse with short horns (which do not curve downward) and ears showing.

℞ 14 mm. Diobol —.—— Berlin.

284 $\overline{\text{META}}$ Six-grained ear in high relief, the uppermost grains smaller than the others. The A of inscription with cross-bar downward to l.

℞ Ox head, incuse.

℞ 13 mm. Diobol —.—— Berlin; Arolsen, E. S. G. Robinson, London.

285 $\overline{\text{META}}$ Five-grained ear with small additional terminal grain.

℞ Similar to 285.

℞ 12 mm. Diobol 1.13. London; Munich.

286 $\overline{\text{META}}$ Six-grained ear, the terminal grains smaller than the others.

℞ Ox head, incuse, with thick horns.

℞ 13 mm. Diobol —.—— Berlin; Hermitage.

287 $\overline{\text{META}}$: Five-grained ear with additional terminal grain and rounded top.

℞ Ox head; right horn slightly longer than left one.

℞ 13 mm. 1.24. Naville VI, 441; Paris.

288 $\overline{\dot{M}E}:\overline{T}$ Five-grained ear with wide border of dots between two lines.

℞ Ox head, incuse.

℞ 13 mm. Diobol —.—— Paris.

289 $\underline{T}:\underline{\dot{M}E}$ Crude five-grained ear. Border of dots between two lines.

℞ Ox head, incuse.

℞ 12.5 mm. Diobol —.—— Berlin.

290 $\overline{\dot{M}E}:\overline{\dot{T}A}$ Six-grained ear with additional terminal awns. Ear touches rim at the base.

℞ Short-horned ox head, similar to 283.

℞ 13 mm. Diobol 1.17. Vienna.

291 $\underline{\dot{M}E}:\underline{\dot{T}A}$ Six-grained ear.

℞ Ox head with horns downward and almost straight. Space between the horns has a granular decoration instead of the vertical lines in most of this series.

℞ 12 mm. Diobol 1.02. Cambridge, McClean, 911.

292 $\overline{\dot{M}E}:\overline{\dot{T}A}$ Six-grained ear in high relief. Border of dots between two lines.

℞ Ox head incuse with straight horns downward. Coarse border.

Æ 13.5 mm. Diobol —.—— Berlin; American Numismatic Society.

293 $\overline{\text{ME}}:\overline{\text{TA}}$ Six-grained ear with coarse awns. Border of dots between two lines.

℞ Ox head, incuse, with short horns, downward, and slightly curved.

Æ 13.5 mm. Diobol 1.34. W. Gedney Beatty (ex Sir H. Weber, 739); Jameson 262—1.21; Berlin, Egger XL (Prowe), 156—1.21.

294 $\overline{\text{MET}}:\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\Gamma}$ The last two letters of inscr. are very faint. Broad five-grained ear.

℞ Ox head incuse, the horns straight downward.

Æ 13.5 mm. Diobol 1.33. E. T. Newell; London, B. M. Cat. 39—1.24; Berlin (2); Vienna—1.29; Merzbacher, Nov., 1909, 2238—1.24.

295 Die of 294.

℞ Ox-head incuse, with straight horns, as in 294. The forehead has granular decorations, and the muzzle is indicated by two horizontal lines.

Æ 13 mm. 1.24. London, B. M. Cat. 39.

296 $:\overline{\text{META}}$ Six-grained ear.

℞ Small ox-head incuse with vertical lines between horns and faint scale-surface between the eyes.

Æ 13 mm. —.—— E. Beesley Coll. (not illustrated—through error the Berlin specimen of No. 294 is shown on Pl. xxi).

297 Six-grained ear of low relief and irregular shape. No inscr.

℞ Incuse barley-grain.

⌘ 10 mm. Obol 0.63. Copenhagen.

298 Six-grained ear.

℞ Barley-grain incuse.

⌘ 10 mm. Obol 0.68. Naville Sale V, 443.

299 Five-grained ear. Border of heavy dots (?).

℞ A barley-corn incuse with an annulet each side.

⌘ 10.5 mm. Diobol —.—— Munich.

300 Four-grained ear.

℞ Similar to No. 297 but annulets larger.

⌘ 10 mm. Diobol 0.84? Berlin.

301 Very crude four-grained ear—the upper grains are smaller.

℞ Similar to No. 297.

⌘ 10 mm. Diobol —.—— Berlin.

302 Four-grained ear. Similar to No. 298 but in higher relief and with more pronounced awns.

℞ Similar to No. 298.

⌘ 10 mm. Diobol 0.70. Vienna.

303 Five-grained ear with linear border.

℞ Similar to No. 297.

℞ 10.5 mm. Diobol —.—— Naples (Santangelo)

304 Narrow six-grained ear touching the linear border at the bottom.

℞ Similar to No. 297 save that the barley-corn is larger and very shallow.

℞ 11 mm. x 7.5 mm. wide. Diobol 0.75. Cambridge (Leake).

305 Six-grained ear with an annulet in field on either side.

℞ Similar to No. 297.

℞ 10 mm. Diobol —.—— Berlin; Naples (Santangelo); Vienna (0.66); Cambridge (McClean 913—0.81).

306 Four-grained ear with heavy linear border and annulets on either side of the ear.

℞ Barley-corn, incuse, with annulets on either side.

℞ 8.5 mm. Diobol 0.65. Sir H. Weber Coll. 741.

307 Six-grained ear with an annulet in the field on either side.

℞ Barley grain with annulet in field on either side. Note dot at center of die.

℞ 10 mm. Obol. —.—— Hermitage.

308 ME: Small five-grained ear. Border of dots. In field to l. an ivy leaf with tip upward.

R Similar to No. 775.

R 10.5 mm. Diobol 0.69. Berlin.

309 : (MĒ)? Four-grained ear. In field to l.
a grasshopper, head upward.

R Similar to No. 297.

R 11 mm. Diobol. —.—— Berlin.

NOTES.

1. Carelli. *Numorum Italiae Veteris*. Lipsiæ, 1850.
2. Garrucci. *Le Monete dell'Italia Antica*. Roma, 1885.
3. Strabo. *Geography*, Bk. VI, I, 15, and Bk. VI, III, 1.
4. R. Koldewey. O. Puchstein. *Die Griechischen Tempeln in Unteritalien und Sicilien*. Berlin, 1899.
5. De Luynes et Debacq. *Metaponte*. Paris, 1833.
6. M. Lacava. *Topografia e storia di Metaponto*. Naples, 1891.
7. K. Lehmann-Hartleben. *Die antiken Hafenanlagen des Mittelmeeres*. Leipzig, 1923. References to other writers are given on page 270.
8. *Num. Zeit.* XXXV, 1903, page 203.
9. Nissen. *Italische Landeskunde*, II, 2, page 912.
10. Cf. Pausanias, VI, 19, 11; V, 22, 5.
11. *Jour. Hellenic Studies*, 1905, page 294.
12. Thucydides, VII, 33.
13. Herodotus, IV, 15.
14. Lenormant. *La Grande-Grèce*. Paris, 1881. Although many of Lenormant's statements are speculative, they have been generally accepted, and are drawn from a very wide knowledge of classical writers.
15. E. Speck. *Handelsgeschichte des Altertums*, Vol. II, 331.
16. G. Macdonald. *Coin Types*, page 12.
17. G. F. Hill, *Greek and Roman Coins*, page 152.

18. Head. *Historia Numorum*. Introduction, page liii.
19. *Num. Chron.*, 1922, pages 19-21.
20. Collection R. Jameson, No. 306.
21. Pozzi Sale, Naville I, 184.
22. Collection R. Jameson, No. 308.
23. Egger XLV, 145.
24. Babelon. Collection De Luynes, 485.
25. Hirsch XXX, 175.
26. Evans. *Horsemen of Tarentum*, page 25, note.
27. Cf. Mazochius. Comm. in Reg. *Herculanensis Aenaeas Tabulas*. Naples, 1754.
28. *Rev. Num.*, 1922, page 103.
29. *Num. Notes and Monogr.* No. 27, page 52.
30. Collection R. Jameson, Tome III, No. 1867.
31. Collection R. Jameson, Tome III, No. 324.
32. Collection R. Jameson, Tome III, No. 272.
33. However, compare Petrone in *Bolletino del Circolo Num. Napoletano*, 1927, p. 23, who distinguishes two species of dolphins. Reference should also be made to the χρυσῶν τεττίγων mentioned by Thucydides (Book I, vi).

“Their (the Athenian) older men of the wealthier class gave up wearing tunics of linen and fastening up their hair in a knot held by a golden grasshopper as a brooch; and this same dress obtained for a long time among the elderly men of the Ionians also, owing to their kinship with the Athenians.” Can there have been any way by which this probably symbolic use of the grasshopper could have a bearing upon the employment of the symbol on these staters?
34. *Rev. Num.*, 1916, page 24.
35. *Historia Numorum*, page 106.
36. *Zeit. f. Num.*, 1880, page 308.
37. *Atti e Mem. dell'Ist. Ital di Num.*, Vol. III, page 31.

38. The following varieties, numbered according to my classification, occurred in the Curinga Hoard: 1a, 3, 11 (2 ± 1), 12, 13 (2), 15, 16, 20, 23, 25, 58, 74 (2), 77, 78 (2), 97, 112, 113, 116, 120, 122, 123, 129, 132, 133, 134, 140, 143, 151, 165, 166, 168, 171, 172, 174 (2), 176, 181, 182, 186, 187, 188, 189, 191 (5), 192, 193, 194 (2), 197, 199 (2), 201 (2), 202 (2), 203, 206, 207, 211 (2), 215, 253. One unidentified.
39. The following varieties are known to have been in the Taranto Hoard. The list is but partial. Except where parentheses enclose a larger figure, but one specimen has been traced: 1b, 1c, 1d, 3 (4), 4 ($7 \pm$), 5, 6 (2), 7 (3), 8 (2), 10 (2), 11 (2), 13, 14 (4 ± 1), 16, 17, 19, 20, 22 (3), 23 (2), 26, 29, 33, 40, 42 (3), 43 ($6 +$), 46, 54, 76, 85 (2), 86, 87, 89, 124.

For M. Babelon's description of the hoard, see Rev. Num., 1912, page 1.





METAPONTUM

Class I



1a



1b



1c



4

5

6



Nos. 1-9.

Plate I



1d



2



3



7



8



9







METAPONTUM

Class I



10



11



12



16



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18



Nos. 10-21.

Plate II



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14



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19



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21



METAPONTUM

Class I



1a



1b



1c



4



5



6



Nos. 1-9.

Plate I



1d



2



3



7



8



9







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METAPONTUM

Class I



10



11



12



16



17



18



Nos. 10-21.

Plate II



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METAPONTUM

Class I



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35—



36—



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METAPONTUM

Class II



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48—



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49—



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Nos. 40-49.

Plate IV







METAPONTUM

Class III



54



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51—



52—



53—



58



-50—



61—



-60—



62—



-65—



-66—



-69—



-70—



Nos. 54-72.

Plate V

—51



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—52



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—61



—63—



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—64—



59



—67—



—68—



—71—



—72—







METAPONTUM

Class III



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Nos. 54-72.

Plate V

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—72—







METAPONTUM

Class II



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Nos. 40-49.

Plate IV



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METAPONTUM

Class III



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Nos. 54-72.

Plate V



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—63—



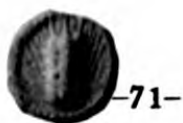
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—68—



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METAPONTUM

Class III



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74



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82—



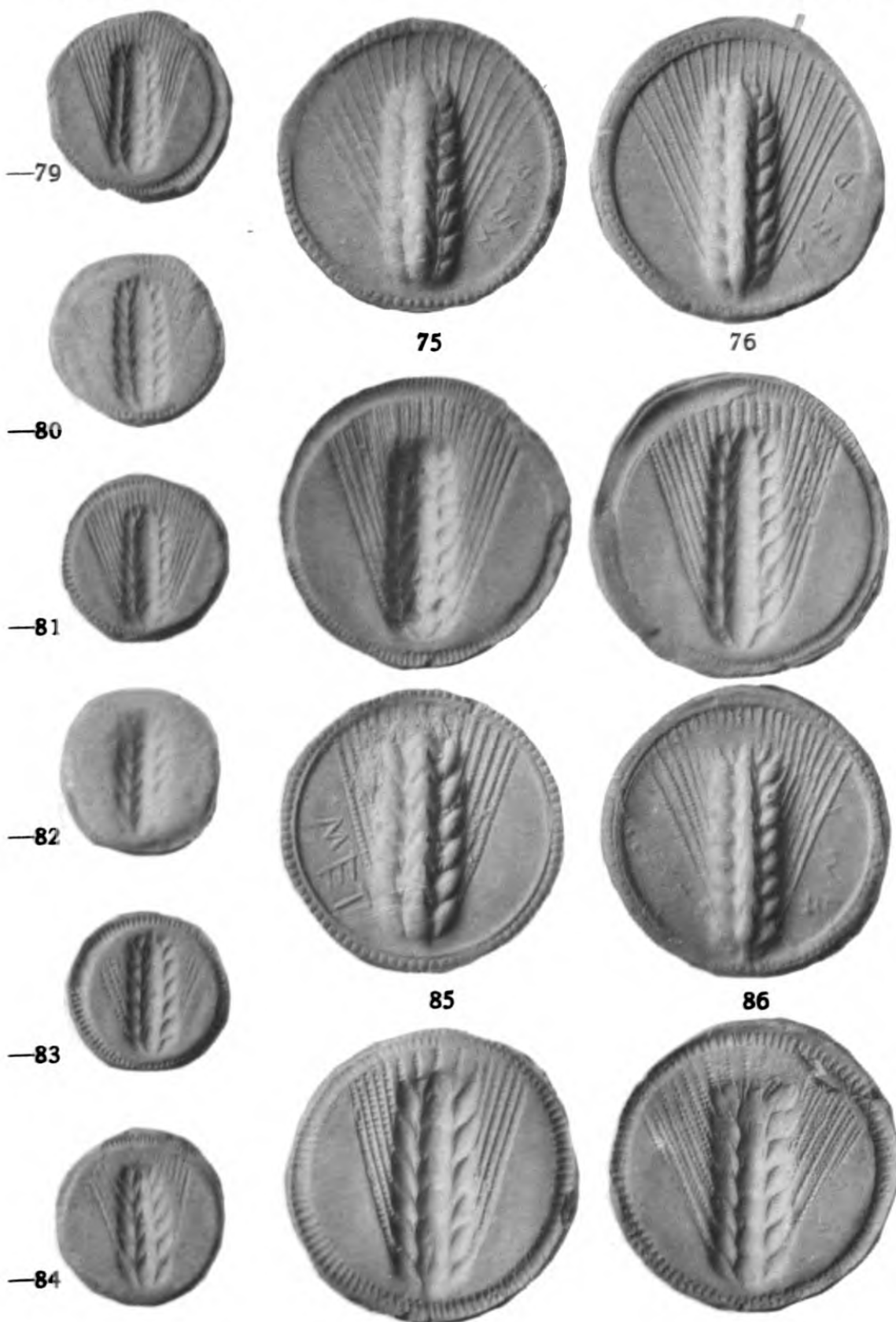
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Nos. 73-84.

Plate VI











METAPONTUM

Class III



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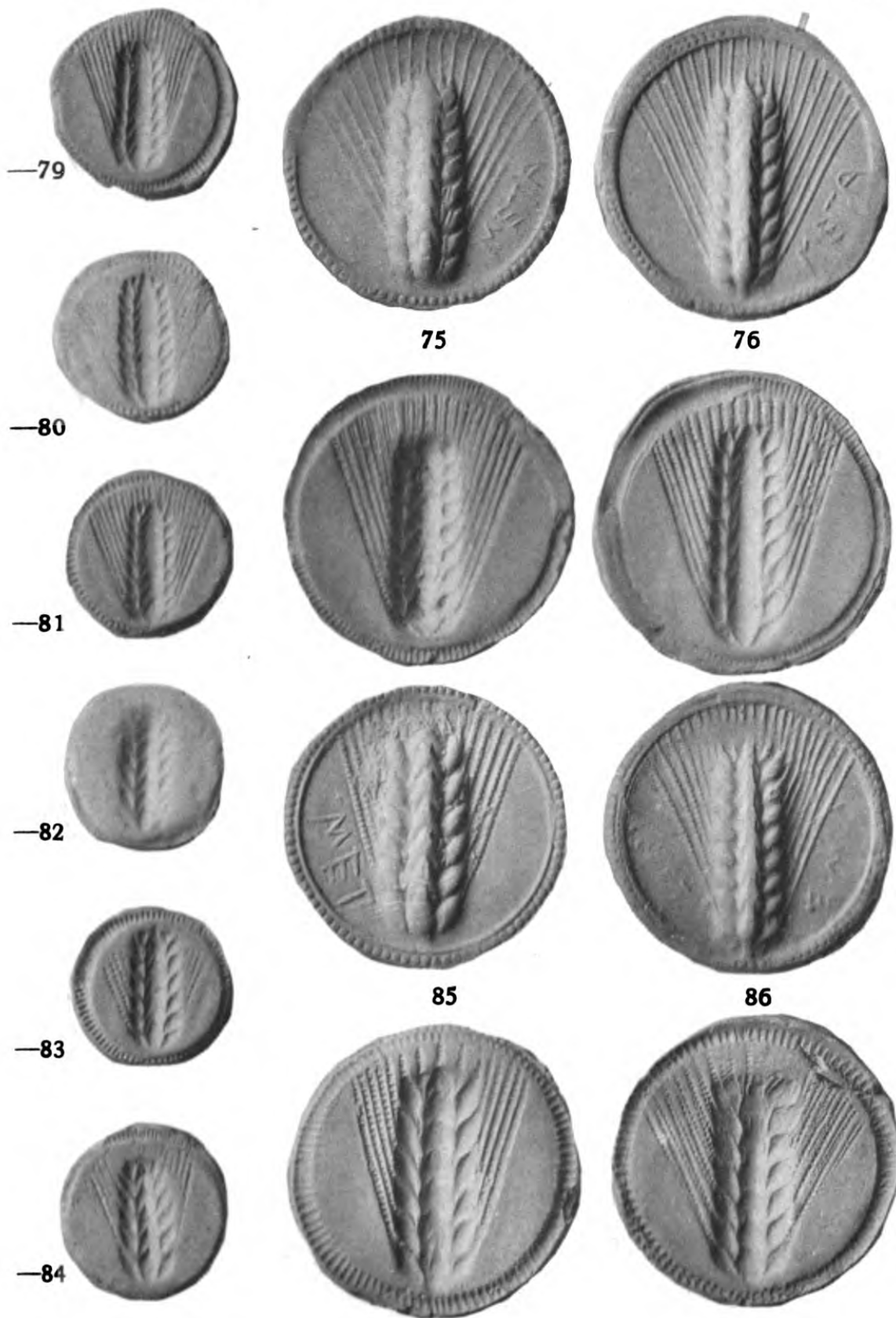
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Nos. 73-84.

Plate VI







METAPONTUM

Class IV



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Nos. 87-98.

Plate VII



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METAPONTUM

Class V



100



100a



99—



106—



103



104—



107—



110



—108—



Nos. 100-111.

Plate VIII



—99



101



102



—106



—107



—109—



—104



111



105





METAPONTUM

Class VI



112



113



114



118



119



120



Nos. 112-123.

Plate IX



115



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122



123











METAPONTUM

Class VI



124



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132



Nos. 124-135.

Plate X



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METAPONTUM

Class VII



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140—



Nos. 136-144.

Plate XI



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139



—140



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METAPONTUM

Class VIII



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154a—



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154b—



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Nos. 145-154b.

Plate XII



—154a



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—154b



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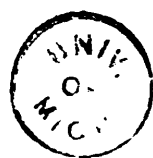


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METAPONTUM

Class IX



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161



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Nos. 155-166.

Plate XIII



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METAPONTUM

Class VIII



145



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154a—



149



150



154b—



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Nos. 145-154b.

Plate XII



—154a



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—154b



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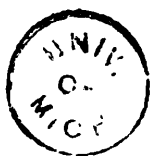


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METAPONTUM

Class IX



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Nos. 155-166.

Plate XIII



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METAPONTUM

Class IX



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Nos. 167-178.

Plate XIV



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Nos. 179-190.

Plate XV



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METAPONTUM

Class IX



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Nos. 191-202.

Plate XVI



194



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200



201



202







METAPONTUM

Class IX (to 208)



203



204



205



209



210



211



Class X (209-14).

Plate XVII



206



207



208



212



213



214







METAPONTUM

Class X



215



216



217



221



222



223



224



Nos. 215-228.

Plate XVIII



218



219



220



225



226



227



228







METAPONTUM

Class IX (to 208)



203



204



205



209



210



211



Class X (209-14).

Plate XVII



206



207



208



212



213



214







METAPONTUM

Class X



215



216



217



221



222



223



224



Nos. 215-228.

Plate XVIII



218



219



220



225



226



227



228







METAPONTUM

Class X (to 232)



229



230



231



232



235



236



237



238



Class XI (233-242).

Plate XIX



233



233



234



234



239



240



241



242







METAPONTUM

Class X (to 232)



229



230



231



232



235



236



237



238



Class XI (233-242).

Plate XIX



233



233



234



234



239



240



241



242







METAPONTUM

Class XI



243



244



245



246



251



252



253



254



Nos. 243-257.

Plate XX



247



248



249



250



255



256



257



N





METAPONTUM

Class XII



258



259



260—



297



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294—



303



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295—



296—



306—





—260



261



M



—294



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301



302

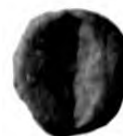
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METAPONTUM

Class XI



243



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METAPONTUM

Class XII



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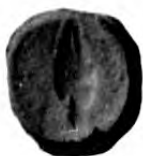
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M



—294



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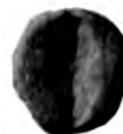
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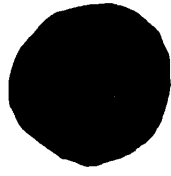




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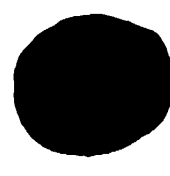
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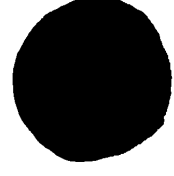
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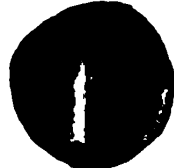
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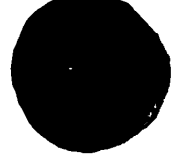
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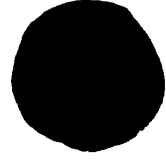
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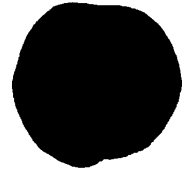
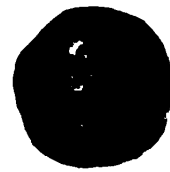
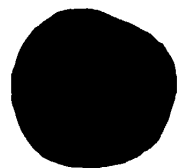
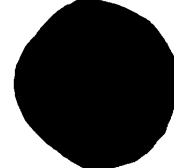
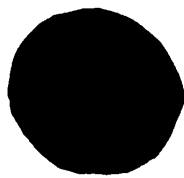


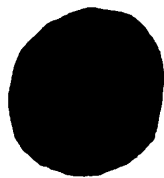
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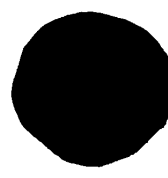
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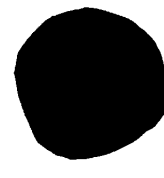
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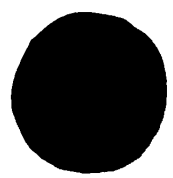
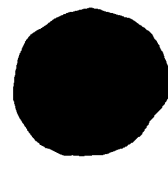
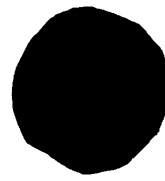
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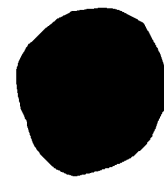
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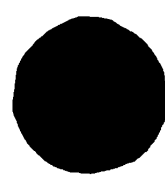
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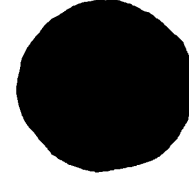
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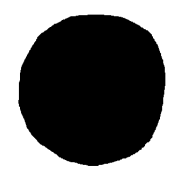
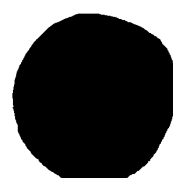
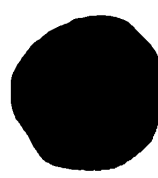
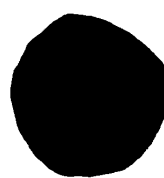
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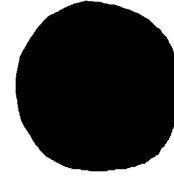
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METAPONTUM



A



B



C



G



H



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Plate XXIII



D



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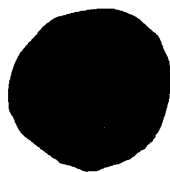
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METAPONTUM



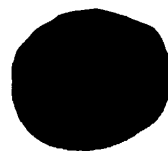
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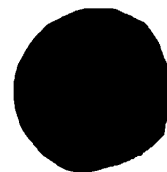
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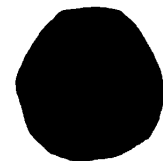
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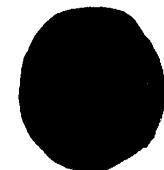
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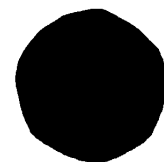
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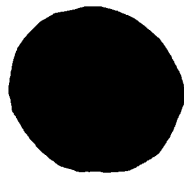
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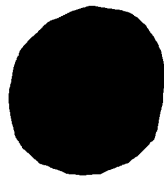
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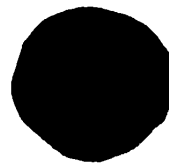
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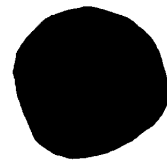
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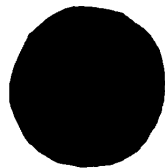
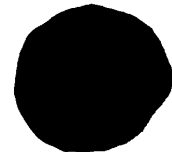
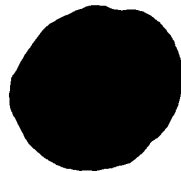
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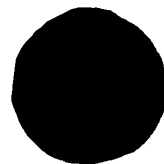
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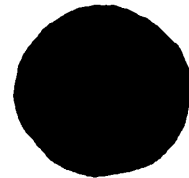
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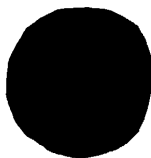
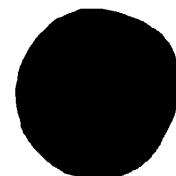
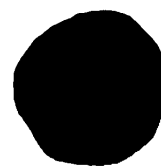
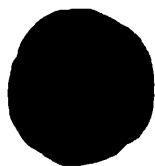
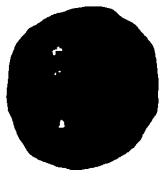
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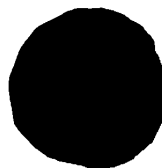
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METAPONTUM



A



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Plate XXIII



D



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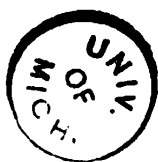


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NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

TWO RECENT EGYPTIAN HOARDS

BY
edward
EDWARD T. NEWELL



THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
BROADWAY AT 156TH STREET
NEW YORK
1927

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BY
Theodore
EDWARD T. NEWELL



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TWO EGYPTIAN HOARDS	I
<p>TWO RECENT EGYPTIAN HOARDS</p> <p>By EDWARD T. NEWELL.</p> <p>I</p> <p>THE DELTA HOARD</p> <p>Except for a short notice in <i>The Numismatist</i> (March, 1924, p. 301) the writer has not since had the leisure to discuss two rather interesting hoards which he met with during his last sojourn in Egypt in the winter of 1923-4. These two hoards, while not perhaps of any very great moment, none the less give us very welcome glimpses as to just what constituted Egyptian currency at two periods of her history under the Ptolemies. Incidentally, they may also</p>	
NUMISMATIC NOTES	MRS

2	TWO EGYPTIAN HOARDS
	<p>serve to affirm or correct certain datings and attributions suggested by previous students of the somewhat intricate problems presented by the various Ptolemaic coinages.</p> <p>For all information concerning the earliest of these hoards the writer is indebted to Dr. Eddé of Alexandria, through whose hands these particular coins first passed. Such pieces as still remained in his possession in December, 1923, he kindly showed the writer, informing him at the same time that certain specimens which had appeared in Ciani's Sale, held on October 16th, 1923, at the Hotel Drouot in Paris (and which sale the writer had himself chanced to attend), had also originally been in the find. The exact time and locality of the discovery Dr. Eddé did not know or possibly, for obvious reasons, did not care to divulge. Briefly stated, the coins had been brought to him early in 1923 by some peasants of the Egyptian delta who said they had found them while working their fields. More precise information</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

DELTA HOARD OF 1923

3

would not probably, in any case, add very greatly to the scientific value of our little hoard. According to Dr. Eddé the "find", as sold to him by the peasants, consisted of the following twenty-one pieces:

PTOLEMY II PHILADELPHUS.

285-246 B. C.

- 1 Phoenician tetradrachm. Diademed head of Ptolemy Soter to r. *Rev.* Eagle standing to l. Of "Asiatic" style, according to Dr. Eddé.

BERENICE II, WIFE OF PTOLEMY III

EUERGETES.

246-221 B. C.

- 2 Veiled bust of the queen to r. in circle of dots. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ on r., ΒΕΡΕΝΙΚΗΣ on l. Cornucopiae adorned with diadem and flanked by the wreath-encircled caps of the Dioscuri. Attic pentadrachm. Gr. 19.27. Worn very slightly. Svoronos No. 989. Now in the author's collection.
PLATE I, 1.

AND MONOGRAPHS

4	TWO EGYPTIAN HOARDS
	<p data-bbox="621 390 1323 680">3 Similar to the preceding. Attic two-and-a-half drachma piece. Gr. 10.38. Slightly worn. Svoronos No. 990. Ciani's Sale, Oct. 16th, 1923, No. 66. Now in the author's collection. PLATE I, 2.</p> <p data-bbox="711 716 1185 800">PTOLEMY IV PHILOPATOR 221-204 B. C.</p> <p data-bbox="589 831 1323 1667">4-6 Jugate busts of Serapis (adorned with the laurel wreath and the "pshent") and Isis (adorned with wheat ear and solar disk with uraei) to r. in circle of dots. <i>Rev.</i> ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ on l., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r. Eagle with head reverted standing to l. upon a thunderbolt and bearing upon his shoulder double cornucopiae adorned with a diadem. Between the eagle's claws: ΣΕ. Phoenician tetradrachm. Very fine or uncirculated. 4. Naville Sale X, No. 1629, gr. 14.13. 5. Same sale, No. 1630, gr. 13.50. 6. Another, now in the author's collection, gr. 14.21. PLATE I, 3.</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

DELTA HOARD OF 1923

5

- 7-20 Similar to the preceding except that ΔI is between the eagle's claws. Svoronos No. 1124. 7. Ciani Sale, Oct. 16, 1923, No. 67 (Pl. iii). 8. Same sale, No. 68 (Pl. iii). 9. Same sale, No. 69 (Pl. iii). 10. Naville X, 1626, gr. 14.10. 11. Same sale, 1627, gr. 13.99. 12. Same sale, 1628, gr. 14.01. 13. Naville XII, 2602, gr. 13.78. 14. Same sale, 2603, gr. 14.00. 15. Same sale, 2604, gr. 13.99. 16. Same sale, 2605, gr. 14.10. 17. Same sale, 2606, gr. 13.63. 18. Same sale, 2607, gr. 14.11. 19. Another is now in commerce. 20. Author's coll., gr. 14.12, PLATE I, 4. Practically all of these pieces are in an uncirculated state.
- 21 Similar to the preceding except that ΣI is between the eagle's claws and $\frac{O}{\Sigma}$ is in the 1. field. Svoronos No. 1186. Naville Sale X, No. 1631, gr. 13.96 (= Ciani's Sale, Oct. 16, 1923, No. 70, Plate iii). Practically uncirculated.

AND MONOGRAPHS

6	TWO EGYPTIAN HOARDS
	<p>All of these coins, with the sole exception of No. 1 which had previously been disposed of, were actually seen and handled by the present writer. Their uniform appearance and type of oxidization with sufficient clearness betokened their common origin from a single find. Nos. 2 and 3, though slightly corroded, were in good condition but showed signs of circulation. Nos. 4 to 21, though similarly attacked by corrosion had obviously been in a brilliant state of preservation when their original owner had seen fit to bury them some twenty-one hundred odd years ago.</p> <p>The Berenice coins Nos. 2 and 3, although very rare are, none the less, well known varieties¹ struck in the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes in honour of his beautiful and able wife Berenice, daughter of Magas of Cyrene. Nos. 7 to 20 inclusive, struck by Ptolemy IV Philopator, are also well known, no less than eighteen specimens of this particular variety having been recorded by Svoronos.² The same is true of No. 21, of similar</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

DELTA HOARD OF 1923

7

types but coined in the mint at Sidon.³ Nos. 4 to 6 inclusive, on the other hand, present a new variety of the Serapis and Isis type in that they have the monogram $\Sigma\bar{\epsilon}$ between the eagle's claws instead of the more usual ΔI . This may, perhaps, be looked upon as the first issue of Ptolemy IV's reign as there is in existence a single specimen⁴ of the coinage with his mother's portrait bearing the same monogram. This latter coin could not very well have been issued by Ptolemy IV himself as he had but just caused Berenice's assassination when he came to the throne following his father's demise in 221 B. C. One might suppose, therefore, that the Berenice coin had been struck under Euergetes, immediately preceding his death, and that its magistrate $\Sigma\bar{\epsilon}$ continued to function for a while under Ptolemy IV. It is also possible, though hardly probable, that Nos. 4 to 6 (together with the above-mentioned Berenice coin) were not coined at Alexandria at all but belong to the Cyrenaic mint where we know⁵ that bronze coins with a simi-

AND MONOGRAPHS

8	TWO EGYPTIAN HOARDS
	<p>lar monogram were being struck at this time. Be this as it may, the sudden appearance of certain Serapis and Isis tetradrachms with the $\overline{\Sigma E}$ monogram would confirm Svoronos' hesitating removal⁶ to the reign of Philopator of at least the bulk of the large series of bronze coins bearing this same monogram which he had at first assigned to the reign of Euergetes (his Nos. 992-994). That the tetradrachms bearing the jugate busts of Serapis and Isis really belong to Philopator's reign was first correctly recognized by Svoronos⁷ and hardly requires further discussion. The special honours paid to these divinities by Philopator⁸ and the dedication of their joint temple at Alexandria⁹ amply explain and date the sudden appearance of this interesting and novel type on the Ptolemaic coinage. That these particular coins should occur in a hoard mixed with Berenice issues still further supports Svoronos' attribution.</p> <p>On the other hand, the unearthing of two more specimens of the Berenice type</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

in Egypt itself rather seems to do away, once and for all, with Svoronos' somewhat hazardous attribution of these coins to the mints of Ephesus and Seleucia on the Orontes.¹⁰ Svoronos himself records¹¹ the finding of two specimens in Egypt—the only definite provenience which he deigns to give us at all—but, obviously to save his own view-point, states that these coins are especially frequently found in the coastal districts of Asia Minor.¹² Unfortunately he neglects, or is unable, to furnish us with any definite proof of his assertion. In contrast to this vagueness it is possible to show that at least nine of the known gold and silver Berenice coins have turned up in Egypt. One of the gold dodecadrachms and two of the silver pentadrachms from the Dupré and Gréau collections are stated by C. W. Huber in his "*Zur alten Numismatik Aegyptens*"¹³ to have been found while excavating the Suez Canal. A specimen of the gold octodrachm in Huber's own collection is said by him¹⁴ also to have been found in

10	TWO EGYPTIAN HOARDS
	<p>Egypt. Furthermore, according to Huber,^{14a} Rev. Reichardt's example of the gold pentadrachm was purchased by him in Cairo. Of the three gold Berenice coins in the present writer's collection two (similar to Svoronos Nos. 973 and 982) were actually purchased in Cairo, and one of these was claimed by its former owner to have been found at Ebtu in Upper Egypt early in 1923. The third coin (= Svor. No. 972) there is good reason to believe was found at Heliopolis near Cairo. Thus, together with the two Berenice silver coins in the present hoard, we possess more or less authentic records of no less than nine of the known Berenice coins having turned up in the land of the Nile. Certainly their style and fabric is not Asiatic but typically Egyptian.¹⁵</p> <p>Unfortunately our hoard brings us no new evidence by which we may explain the sudden and anomalous occurrence of coins of Attic weight in the Egyptian series nearly a century after that system had been definitely abandoned by Ptolemy</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

DELTA HOARD OF 1923

II

I Soter. Its reappearance may have been occasioned by certain exigencies of trade or of politics of which we know nothing or can offer, at best, only vague surmises upon which to work. It is to be hoped that the future discovery or decipherment of contemporary papyri may throw some welcome light upon so difficult and puzzling a question. Perhaps the wide-flung and successful campaigns of Ptolemy III through the very heart of the Seleucid empire (where the Attic weight system was at this time universally used), or the bringing back to Egypt by victorious soldiery of plundered Seleucid treasures may have thrown so much Attic silver and gold upon the Egyptian markets that there sprang up a demand for an intermediary coinage that would readily exchange in terms of the two prevalent currencies—the Attic and the Egypto-Phoenician. Not only military successes but also an increased foreign trade might have brought about a similar demand. At any rate, the Attic silver pentadrachm (such as No. 2) would represent the

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12	TWO EGYPTIAN HOARDS
	<p>equivalent of six Ptolemaic drachms (or one and a half of the usual current tetradrachms). The two-and-a-half Attic drachm piece (such as No. 3) would equal three Ptolemaic drachms or three-fourths of a tetradrachm. Similarly the gold Attic two-and-a-half drachm piece (Svor. No. 979) would represent the equivalent of three Ptolemaic gold drachms, the pentadrachm (Svor. Nos. 973, 978) of six Ptolemaic gold drachms, the decadrachm (Svor. No. 972) of twelve Ptolemaic gold drachms or exactly one and a half of the ordinary gold Egyptian <i>Mvaſîa</i>, the commonest of Egyptian gold coins and at this time struck in both single and half pieces (Svor. Nos. 1117, 1118). This expedient of issuing a coinage intermediary between the two dominant systems of the eastern Mediterranean was but ephemeral—as might have been expected. With the commencement of Ptolemy IV Philopator's reign it was abandoned, never again to be revived.</p> <p>To return once more to our hoard, the</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

DELTA HOARD OF 1923

13

exact date of its burial can hardly be determined, any more than the causes which actually led to its interment. The uniformly splendid preservation of Nos. 4 to 21, point, however, to the early years of Philopator's reign. For several reasons, with which Regling apparently agrees,¹⁶ Svoronos¹⁷ has placed the Serapis and Isis tetradrachms among the earliest issues of Philopator. Our hoard fully substantiates his views but offers nothing to fix the date of burial closer than somewhere in the first quarter, certainly within the first half, of Philopator's reign.

AND MONOGRAPHS

14	TWO EGYPTIAN HOARDS
	<p>II</p> <p>THE KENEH HOARD</p> <p>This hoard, of small artistic but of considerable intrinsic and scientific value, would seem to have come to light some time in the first six months of 1923. It was still, for the most part, in the hands of the well known dealer in antiquities, M. Maurice Nahman, when the writer visited Cairo towards the end of that same year. M. Nahman very kindly granted every facility for studying the coins and also furnished what little information is available concerning the discovery and disposal of the hoard. It is said to have been found near Keneh in Upper Egypt and was bought by M. Nahman just a month preceding the latter's departure for Europe in July, 1923. He took the opportunity of carrying a selection of the coins with him for disposal in Paris where the present writer, a few months later, saw several specimens. Among others, one Arsinoe gold octodrachm was</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

K E N E H H O A R D	15
<p>shown him by Messrs. Feuardent Frères, two or three more by M. Clément Platt, while three octodrachms and ten silver tetradrachms appeared as Nos. 63-65, 73-82 in the auction sale held on October 16th, 1923, by Messrs. Ciani and Florange at the Hotel Drouot. When the writer arrived in Cairo, M. Nahman still possessed in his trays some six or more of the gold octodrachms and about one hundred and sixty silver tetradrachms. He also stated that, altogether, the hoard as offered to him had contained about forty-five gold coins (including two of the rare Arsinoe gold tetradrachms) and over two hundred silver tetradrachms and also that, so far as he knew, he had been able to secure the entire find.</p> <p>The coins were all without exception, both gold and silver, in the finest possible condition. The silver pieces were covered with a thin layer of purplish grey oxide, while the gold pieces showed every evidence of having been buried with the silver, because their surfaces showed here and there small patches of</p>	
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16	TWO EGYPTIAN HOARDS
	<p>the silver oxide where they had lain in contact with the disintegrating surfaces of the silver tetradrachms. There can be no reasonable question but that all of these coins, both gold and silver, had really come from a single find as stated by M. Nahman.</p> <p>Mint : ALEXANDRIA.</p> <p>Ptolemy VI Philometor 181/0-145 B. C. and possibly during the early years of his successor's (Ptolemy VIII) sole reign.</p> <p>About forty-three Gold Octodrachms.</p> <p><i>Obv.</i> Veiled and diademed bust of Arsinoe to r. with lotus-tipped sceptre. Behind head, K.</p> <p><i>Rev.</i> ΑΡΣΙΝΟΗΣ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ, around double cornucopiae filled with fruits and tied with the royal diadem. Varieties of Svoronos Nos. 1242 (Plate xl, 20-23), 1374 (Plate xlvii, 1-3), 1498 (Plate li, 17-19), 1499 (Plate li, 20-1, 24). The specimen here illustrated, PLATE II, 1 and 2, is in the writer's collection and shows condition both before</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

K E N E H H O A R D	17
<p>and after cleaning. Other specimens from the hoard are illustrated in Ciani's sale catalogue, Oct. 16th, 1923, Plate iii, Nos. 63-65. M. Nahman stated that two of the Arsinoe octodrachms in the hoard showed letters on their reverses instead of on the obverses. We probably have to do here with contemporary Cypriote issues, such as are illustrated by Svoronos on his Plates xlix-1. Unfortunately these particular pieces had been sold before the writer's arrival in Cairo.</p> <p>Two Gold Tetradrachms.</p> <p>Types similar to the preceding. The specimen now in the writer's collection is illustrated PLATE II, 3.</p> <p>About one hundred and ninety Silver Tetradrachms.</p> <p><i>Obv.</i> Diademed head of Ptolemy I Soter, wearing Aegis, to r.</p> <p><i>Rev.</i> ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ around eagle standing to l. on thunder-bolt.</p> <p>Three specimens in the writer's collection are illustrated PLATE II, 4 and 5,</p>	
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18	TWO EGYPTIAN HOARDS
	<p>PLATE III, 1. Similar pieces from the hoard are given in the above-mentioned Ciani catalogue, Plate iv, Nos. 73-82.</p> <p>Mint : PAPHOS.</p> <p>Ptolemy VI Philometor (sole reign) 163-145 B. C.</p> <p>One Silver Tetradrachm.</p> <p><i>Obv.</i> Diademed head of Ptolemy I Soter, wearing the Aegis, to r.</p> <p><i>Rev.</i> ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ around eagle standing to l. on a thunderbolt. In l. field, ΛΑΛ. In r. field ΗΑ. Specimen from the hoard in the writer's collection, PLATE III, 2.</p> <p>Ptolemy VII Eupator. Associated with his father 146-145 B. C.</p> <p>One Silver Tetradrachm.</p> <p><i>Obv.</i> Diademed head of Ptolemy I Soter, wearing Aegis, to r.</p> <p><i>Rev.</i> ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ around eagle standing to l. on a thunderbolt. In l. field ΛΑΛ. In r. field ΚΑΙ A ΗΑ Specimen from the hoard in the writer's collection, PLATE III, 3.</p>
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Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (Sole reign)
145-117 B. C.

Two Silver Tetradrachms.

Obv. Diademed head of Ptolemy I Soter, wearing the Aegis, to r.

Rev. ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
around eagle standing to l. on a thunderbolt. In l. field, LKE. In r. field ΠΑ.
Specimen from the hoard in the writer's collection PLATE III, 4. A similar specimen, from the hoard, was seen in the collection of Dr. Lewellyn Phillips, Cairo.

Two Silver Tetradrachms.

Obv. Similar to the preceding.

Rev. Similar to the preceding except that the date reads LKE. Specimen from the hoard in the writer's collection PLATE III, 5. A similar specimen, from the hoard, was seen in Dr. Phillip's collection.

Other specimens, similar to the preceding six pieces, may originally have been contained in the find, but if so they had already been disposed of before the

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20	TWO EGYPTIAN HOARDS
	<p>writer's visit to Egypt. According to M. Nahman's express statement there were "very few" of these Cypriote tetradrachms in the hoard.</p> <p>It will be noticed that the coins here given to Alexandria (PLATE II, 4-5, PLATE III, 1) and, in fact, universally recognized as of Egyptian origin, predominate in our hoard. The last six coins, here given to Paphos in Cyprus, following Svoronos, were but sparsely represented in the Kenek Find. These particular varieties, however, had been assigned by Poole (Brit. Mus. Cat. <i>Ptolemies</i>, pp. lxii, lxx-lxxi, Plate xxii, 1.) to a mint presumably transferred from Paphos to Alexandria. Entirely aside from questions of style and fabric the present hoard refutes this opinion. For, if they had really been struck in Alexandria, it is almost certain that our hoard would have contained a larger number. Svoronos also does not entirely accept¹⁸ Poole's conclusion but continues to assign these coins to Paphos, as indicated by the mint-mark ΠΑ which they bear. On the other</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

hand it is equally certain that, at a slightly later date in the reign of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, his Alexandrian issues really were marked with the letters IIA, as first pointed out by Poole. These latter are only to be distinguished from the true issues of Paphos by their somewhat cruder but very individual style.

While this is hardly the place to enter upon a detailed discussion of the many coinages of Philometor and Euergetes with a view not only to a definite separation of their respective issues but also to distinguish between the IIA coins struck at Paphos and those issued from the Alexandrian mint, a few indications of how this can be accomplished may not come amiss. We may start with the assumption, as proved by the very obvious evidence of fabric and style, that the silver coins in our hoard represent the issues of two distinct mints. As they are all equally well preserved it is fairly certain that they were more or less contemporaneous, and this rules out the possibility that they might have been struck

22	TWO EGYPTIAN HOARDS
	<p>in one mint. Again, it may reasonably be assumed that the coins whose numbers were greatest in our hoard ought to have come from the nearest mint, namely Alexandria. And this assumption amounts to a certainty when we consider the fact that Egypt resembles a long narrow funnel or corridor, with Kenh situated well up the narrowest part. The principal commercial door, commanding the mouth of the funnel, was Alexandria, the seat of a very active mint. Naturally it would be her issues which would tend to predominate the further we proceeded along the neck of the funnel. Therefore coins similar to PLATE II, Nos. 4-5, must certainly be Egyptian in origin, and this fact has always been recognized by numismatists. The final six tetradrachms of our hoard (PLATES III, 2-5) then, must belong to another mint, and this can only be Paphos — indicated by the letters ΠΑ and recognized as such by most numismatists except Poole. Obviously these coins are the direct successors in style and fabric of Svoronos'</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

Plate xlix, Nos. 4-24, whose assignment to Paphos by the Greek scholar has never been questioned. In their low relief and odd style these six tetradrachms are identical with the accepted Paphian issues but utterly unlike the Egyptian issues as exemplified by PLATE II, Nos. 4-5. Therefore, they never could have been their successors. No, the true successors of the prolific but unmarked Alexandrian issues of Philometor (here PLATE II, 4-5; Svoronos, Plate li, 1-5; Poole, Plate xxiv, 4-6) can only have been coins such as Svoronos Plate lii, 2-4, bearing the dates of Euergetes KI and KH. In the stylistic peculiarities of the Soter head, as well as of the eagle, these particular coins are intimately associated with the above-mentioned Egyptian issues. They constitute the easy and obvious transition from them into the later certain Alexandrian issues of Euergetes such as Svoronos Plate xlix, No. 17, Plate lii, Nos. 13, 14, 15, 19, 20, 24 and so on—i. e., coins with the now anomalous "mint-mark" IIA and the dates

24	TWO EGYPTIAN HOARDS
	<p>running from Λ through ΝΔ. These latter coins are certainly of Alexandrian origin. The present writer has secured innumerable specimens from strictly Egyptian hoards, and in style and fabric they again merge directly into the issues of Ptolemies X Soter and XI Alexander (cf. Svoronos Plate lvii) which issues both Poole¹⁹ and Svoronos²⁰ recognize as necessarily of Egyptian origin.</p> <p>Our hoard is furthermore instrumental in proving that Poole, following Reichardt,²¹ is absolutely justified in assigning certain very rare coins (here PLATE III, 3) to Ptolemy VII Neos Eupator, the son of Ptolemy VI Philometor, with whom he was associated in the kingdom the very year of the latter's death. Svoronos, on the other hand, would see²² in these coins an issue of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes struck in his 36th year (= 134 B. C.). He transposes the inscription in the field so as to read ΛΔ Α ΚΑΙ ΙΑ and translates this : L (= year) ΔΔ (= 36 of Euergetes) Α (= Αἰγύπτου or Ἀλεξανδρείας)</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

KAI (= and) ΠΑ (= Πάφου νομίσμα). With this conclusion Regling disagrees ²³ absolutely and prefers the old explanation. Our hoard now comes to corroborate fully the majority opinion. In the first place, this coin, if we were to follow Svoronos, would come some ten years later than the latest known dated coin in the find, which is quite inadmissible. Secondly, these particular coins, as we have shown, were struck at Paphos and have nothing to do with Alexandria or Egypt—as Svoronos would have us believe from his rearrangement and translation of the inscription. Thirdly, the date ΑΕ can only refer to Philometor, as the immediately following coin of our hoard (PLATE III, 4) bears the date ΚΕ but is absolutely identical with it in the very individual style of its obverse die. If further proof be needed, there happens to be in the writer's collection a coin similar to PLATE III, 2 (and therefore certainly of Ptolemy VI Philometor) but struck from the *same obverse die* as

26	TWO EGYPTIAN HOARDS
	<p>PLATE III, 3. The latter coin must, therefore, belong to Philometor and not to a date ten years after his death. Now we know from Porphyrius ²⁴ that the last year of Philometor was his 36th (ΛΕ), which was also the 25th (ΚΕ) year of Euergetes in his second reign at Alexandria. The association in our little hoard of the three coins PLATE III, 2-4, all so absolutely identical in style and fabric, is quite sufficient to refute the opinion of Svoronos.</p> <p>While it has long been believed that the Arsinoe gold octodrachms and tetradrachms of increasingly mediocre style, and bearing the letter K behind the head (here PLATE II, 1-3, also Ciani's sale Plate iii, Nos. 63-65), were more or less contemporaneous with the silver tetradrachms such as PLATE II, 4-5, and that all of these coins belonged somewhere in the second century B. C.,²⁵ no definite proof of this has so far been presented. The Kenh hoard fortunately steps in to fill this gap in the most definite fashion. There can now be no doubt</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

but that these particular gold octodrachms and tetradrachms and silver tetradrachms (together with their accompanying di-drachms not represented in our hoard) not only belong together but that they must, for the most part, be assigned to the reign of Ptolemy VI Philometor. A few may have been struck after Ptolemy VIII Euergetes had finally returned to Egypt in 147-6 B. C., on the death of his elder brother. For the earliest dated coin of his which we have from the Alexandria mint was not struck until 144-3 B. C. (i. e., year KΙ = Svoronos, Plate lii, No. 2). The two intervening years, therefore, may well have seen the continuation of the undated coinage inaugurated by Philometor. In assigning these coins to Philometor it must always be remembered that for a goodly portion of his reign he was actually ruling conjointly with his brother Euergetes, but the coinage was doubtless considered as being issued in the name of the senior brother. It should also be stated that all of the one hundred and fifty-five

28	TWO EGYPTIAN HOARDS
	<p>tetradrachms from our hoard actually seen in Cairo, as well as those sold in Paris, were more or less identical with the two here illustrated on PLATE II. The hoard apparently contained none of the somewhat similar pieces, but of flatter relief and smaller design, such as are pictured by Svoronos Plate xl, Nos. 2-6, and Poole, Plate xxiv, No. 7. With the inauguration of a dated coinage at Alexandria under Euergetes in 144-3 B. C. the series of undated tetradrachms probably came to an end. It may not have been so with the gold octodrachms bearing the old Arsinoe types. Exceptionally crude pieces, such as Svoronos Plate lviii, No. 3, do not seem to have been present in the Keneh Find and so may have been issued at a later date.</p> <p>The silver coins in the Keneh Hoard were practically all in the same splendid state of preservation, though, naturally, there was considerable variation in the amount of corrosion exhibited by the various specimens. The gold coins, too, showed little or no wear, with the excep-</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

tion of those few of somewhat better style (such as PLATE III, 1) which exhibited slight signs of circulation as compared with those of a little cruder style (such as Ciani's Sale, Plate iii, Nos. 63-5) which were in an absolutely sharp and uncirculated condition. It is remarkable that the only known dated coins in our find should all cover the short period of two years, i. e., year ΛE (36) of Philometor (= 146-5 B. C.); year ΛE (36) of Philometor with A (1) of Eupator (also = 146-5 B. C.); and years KE (25) and KE (26) of Euergetes (= 145 and 145-4 B. C.). And this although the dated Cypriote issues, both before and after these particular years, are quite common! There must be some significance in so curious a fact and it suggests that the hoard was buried not very much after the year 144 B. C. This is further corroborated by the apparent total absence of any of the dated Alexandrian issues of Euergetes which first commenced to appear in his 27th year, or in 144-3 B. C. If the hoard had

30	TWO EGYPTIAN HOARDS
	<p>been buried much later than this date they ought to have been represented in the find, considering the comparatively large number of coins which it actually contained.</p> <p>As the Keneh hoard was thus apparently buried within the first few years of Euergetes' return to Egypt its interment may not have been unconnected with the somewhat disturbed condition of the country due to the repressive measures at once adopted by the new king. He was obviously most unpopular with certain powerful factions, especially the Greek and the Jewish, who had particularly favoured the well-beloved Philometor. On his death they had declared for his widow and youthful son Ptolemy Neos Eupator as against Euergetes' claim to the throne. It was only with an army at his back that Euergetes made good his claim, and being of an energetic and ruthless nature proceeded at once to make certain of his position by all means in his power, including assassination, massacre and wholesale banish-</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

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ment. Such drastic measures, ruthlessly carried out in the first years²⁶ of his reign, must have brought fear and consternation to the wealthier and more influential people of the country, especially to those at all intimately associated with the preceding reign or devoted to its memory. In such times of imminent danger to property and person many a family treasure would assuredly find its way into the ground, there to await—if disaster befell—the lucky finder of later ages. That the Keneh Hoard represents one of these hastily buried fortunes may well be. The burial date would support the suggestion—but absolute certainty can hardly be expected in such a case.

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NOTES.

1. See Svoronos, *Tà Νομίσματα τοῦ κράτους τῶν Πτολεμαίων*, Vol. II, Nos. 989 and 990.

2. *Ibid.*, No. 1124.

3. *Ibid.*, No. 1186.

4. *Ibid.*, No. 991.

5. British Museum Catalogue *Cyrene*, p. 83, Nos. 48-50, Pl. xxxi, 11-12, and Svoronos, *loc. cit.*, Nos. 1145-1152.

6. *Loc. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 177, note under heading : γ).

7. *Loc. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. σπη'-σπθ'. With this attribution Dr. Regling, *Zeitschr. f. Num.*, Vol. xxv, 1906, p. 369, fully agrees.

8. Strack, *Die Dynastie der Ptolemäer*, Nos. 55-58, 69. Bouché-Leclercq, I, 329, 1.

9. Strack, *ibidem*, No. 66; Mahaffy, *The Empire of the Ptolemies*, pp. 73-4 and 274.

10. *Loc. cit.*, p. σμθ'.

11. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Nos. 973 δ and 989 ς.

12. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. σμε'. Even here he is forced to admit (with which one can only agree) that these coins and the accompanying bronze pieces are also very frequently found in Egypt. The present writer has secured scores of examples of the bronze coins in Egypt and has seen literally hundreds of others from Egyptian "finds".

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DELTA AND KENEH

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13. *Zur alten Numismatik Aegyptens*, pp. 217 and 226.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 215.

14-a. *Ibid.*, p. 220.

15. Compare them, for instance, with the well known gold octodrachms bearing the radiate bust of Euergetes (Svor., No. 1117) as against the one gold octodrachm of Berenice which was certainly struck in Ephesus (Svor., Nos. 899 and 900; Brit. Museum Catalogue, Plate xiii, 2). The former are as obviously Egyptian as the latter is Asiatic.

16. *Loc. cit.*, p. 369.

17. *Loc. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. σπθ', τγ'-τς'.

18. *Ibid.* In his catalogue Svoronos places all of these coins under Cyprus. In his introduction, p. τζβ', however, he appears to accept Poole's suggestion, though only for a few of the coins in question.

19. *Loc. cit.*, introd., pp. lxxviii-lxxix.

20. *Loc. cit.*, Vol. I, p. υιδ' ff.

21. *Num. Chron.*, N. S., Vol. IV, p. 189.

22. *Loc. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. τζα'-τζβ'.

23. *Zeitschr. f. Num.*, Vol. XXV, 1906, p. 381.

24. *Frag. Hist. Gr.* III, pp. 720-1.

25. Poole, in the British Museum Catalogue, assigned the gold to Ptolemy VIII or later (*introd.*, p. xli), the silver solely to Ptolemy VIII (*ibid.*, p. lxxiv). Svoronos gives (*loc. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. τξδ' and υς') some of the gold to Ptolemy VI and some to Ptolemy VIII,

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	<p>while the silver he assigns (<i>ibid.</i>, pp. $\tau\eta\zeta'-\tau\eta\eta'$) Ptolemies VI and VIII. Regling clearly sees that their style points rather to Ptolemy VI (<i>Zeitschr. f. Num.</i>, Vol. XXV, p. 382). It was undoubtedly due to insufficient data that Poole was led to question (<i>ibid.</i>, p. lxxiii) the Egyptian origin of these tetradrachms. In additon to the present hoard the writer, in the course of three previous visits to Egypt, saw many of these particular coins which had come from hoards undoubtedly unearthed in that country. They seem to be particularly common on the Egyptian coin market.</p> <p>26. Cf. Mahaffy's <i>Empire of the Ptolemies</i>, pp. 374-85, based on Polybius' account and also on Athenaeus, IV, c. 83.</p>
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AND MONOGRAPHS

No. 34



THE SECOND AND THIRD
SELEUCID COINAGE OF TYRE

BY
EDGAR ROGERS

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THE SECOND AND THIRD SELEUCID COINAGE OF TYRE

FOREWORD

In accepting the generous invitation of Mr. Edward T. Newell, President of the American Numismatic Society, to continue his investigation into the Seleucid Mint of Tyre, some sort of explanation should be made. My interest in the Seleucid mint of Tyre began, as philosophy is said to begin, in wonder. A good many years ago grave doubts arose in my mind as to whether a tetradrachm of Antiochus III, apparently bearing the recognized monogram of Tyre, was really issued from that mint at all. The authorities of the day said it was: I ventured to think it was not and so began to study the mint of Tyre. As my numismatic studies are compelled to be intermittent from the very nature of my calling, Mr. Newell was able to anticipate me and reached conclusions after which I had been blindly groping.

From Antiochus III to Demetrius I, Mr. Newell has elucidated the coinage of Tyre. The historical value of his conclusions is incalculable. Without them the numismatic history of Tyre is nonsense

and any classification of the Seleucid series merely fantastic. Further, the principles he has outlined for the earlier coinage, if applied generally, will solve many of the puzzles and make this wonderful Seleucid series an open book. The coinage for Tyre has been classified by Mr. Newell up to the beginning of the reign of Alexander Balas. My work begins at that point and endeavors to throw some light on certain of the questions which arise.

THE SECOND COINAGE

From Alexander Balas onward, the activities of the Seleucid mint of Tyre are perfectly straightforward. There are no problems of attribution, which is the real fun of numismatics.

The minor problems are possibly, from the nature of the case, totally insoluble. I have made an attempt to solve one of them, but I claim no finality for the solution I propose.

After the defeat and death of Demetrius I, the Saviour, the mighty hunter of the House of Seleucus, Alexander Balas, the putative son of Antiochus Epiphanes became the Greek King in Syria. He owed his victory and his throne to the powerful support of Ptolemy Philometor of Egypt. How real that support was may be gauged from the fact that as soon as ever Alexander was established in his kingdom, Ptolemy forced him to marry his daughter Cleopatra, and the Seleucid court was removed from Antioch to Ptolemais, where the

marriage took place "with great pomp, as the manner of kings is."

This Egyptian alliance had an immediate effect upon the coinage of Tyre. A new standard of weight was introduced and a new type, both Ptolemaic.

As far as Tyre is concerned, the second coinage, which lasted from B. C. 151/150 (A.S. 162) until B.C. 126/125 (A.S. 187), may well be said to have begun and ended with Cleopatra. This infamous woman, successively the wife of Alexander Balas, Demetrius II and Antiochus VII, granted Tyre its freedom as a reward for the murder of her second husband. Her twenty-five years of political intrigue cover the period of the second coinage.

Both silver and copper coins were issued, the former certainly in abundance. No gold has come to light. The silver denominations are the tetradrachm, the didrachm the drachm and the half drachm. The copper, following the very wise precedent of Mr. Newell, are the chalkous, the hemichalkous, the dilepton and possibly the lepton.

The prototype of the silver coins is the ordinary Lagid tetradrachm of the Ptolemaic Kings in Egypt. The obverse is always the king's portrait and the reverse is the eagle on the prow of a galley with a palm-branch except in the case of the single half drachm known.

The copper, in contrast with the usual practice of the Seleucids, has a different type for each denomination, although the obverse is always the King's

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portrait. The largest denomination, which is conveniently called the chalkous, has on the reverse the stern of a galley, usually ornamented with the aphlaston, the half chalkous has the prow and palm, the dilepton has the palm tree with fruit, and the lepton a club, which appears on a single example belonging to Antiochus IV in my collection.

In view of the difference of this coin I have thought it right to assign the lepton (prow and palm—caps of Dioskouroi) to the mint of Tripolis and to find a rudder rather than a prow on the coins.

The distinction of type for different denominations is markedly Phoenician and does not obtain in the money of other Seleucid mints. A persistent feature, especially of the obverse, is a border of dots. This stands out in sharp contrast with the bead and reel border, which was becoming more and more popular upon the monies of Attic weight.

It is worth while noting that there exists a tetradrachm of the Phoenician type of Ptolemy Philometor of the year B. C. 148 with a monogram, which appears to indicate Ptolemais. It is obviously connected with the expedition, which he made into Palestine and Phoenicia to bring to his senses Alexander Balas, whose dissolute life threatened disaster. The Phoenician mints were in some degree disorganized and a Sidon tetradrachm of Attic weight, remains as witness. Certainly the coins of this year are the rarest in the reign of Alexander.

The mint of Tyre had its own idea of the fitness



Fig. 1



Fig. 2
No. 123



Fig. 3—No 124a

of things and with Semitic persistency clung to them. On the silver coins, the Seleucid monarch's portrait is always clean shaven and draped. Even in the case of a king, like Demetrius II, who *more Parthico* affected a formal cut to beard and hair, the mint of Tyre insisted upon a presentation, ridiculously young. Other Phoenician or Palestinian mints might, if they liked, put up with a bearded king,* but the mint of Tyre, with but one exception (cf. no. 131), would have none of it.

As far as possible the Seleucid King had to resemble the Tyrian Herakles (Melquarth) and a comparison of the Tyrian issues of Alexander Balas with the much later issues of free Tyre shew a noteworthy likeness between the Seleucid King and the hero of Tyre.

The remarkable feature of the second coinage of Tyre is the weight. It is no longer Attic, but approximates to the Ptolemaic. Thus, while throughout the rest of the Seleucid domain of Asia the tetradrachm weighs 17.40 grammes, the tetradrachm of the Tyrian mint weighs 14.20 grammes only.

Naturally, this indicates that the chief trading interest of Tyre was maritime and with Egypt, but it must have been a real inconvenience to the rest of the Seleucid Empire requiring a constant adjustment, like the British duo-decimal system.

* Cf. Num. Chron. Ser. iv. Vol. XII, pl. X, 12. Cat. Jameson, No. 1736, Pl. LXXXVIII, which coins, however, are modern forgeries by Becker (Hill 115).

At all events the same standard was continued,* even after Tyre regained its freedom, upon autonomous issues and so long as Imperial Rome authorized silver monies (always provided that the tetradrachms, ranging from Vespasian to Trajan are rightly attributed to Tyre) with the single exception of what I have ventured to call the third Seleucid Coinage of Tyre.

There is however one problem, the most tantalizing of all. That problem is the interpretation of the monograms, which occur upon the coins throughout. They are not numerous and are easy to classify. On the other hand, if once they were really understood, they would throw a flood of light of the utmost value upon the monetary arrangements of the Seleucid Kings.




The following table shews all that have come to light.

* In the *Catalogue des Rois de Syrie* a tetradrachm of Alexander Balas (no. 887), although described as a Phoenician tetradrachm is stated to weigh 16 gr. 10. As this, if true, would open up an insoluble problem, I wrote to M. Babelon, suggesting it was probably a misprint. With that kindness—to which I personally owe so much—he replied immediately, “Le poids est, non pas de 16 gr. 10, comme il est imprimé, mais de 14 gr. 10. Il y a là une simple faute d'impression, puisque la pièce est classée et décrite parmi les tetradrachmes de poids phénicien, et non pas attique: la correction s'impose d'elle-même.”

<i>Year</i>	<i>Monograms</i>							
Alexander I								
ΒΕΡ			Μ					
ΓΕΡ		Η		Α				
ΔΕΡ	⊠	Η		ΑΣ	⌘*			
ΕΕΡ	"	"		"	"			
ΖΕΡ	"	"						
Demetrius II								
ΖΕΡ	"	"			⌘			
ΗΕΡ	"	"						
ΘΕΡ	"	"	Μ			⌘		
ΟΡ	"	"						
ΑΟΡ	"	"						
ΒΟΡ	"	"				⌘		
ΓΟΡ	"	"						
Antiochus VII								
ΔΟΡ	"	"	Σ					
"	ΖΒ	"						
ΕΟΡ		"	"		⌘		⌘	ΔΙ
ΖΟΡ		"	"	ΑΣ				
ΗΟΡ		"	"					
ΘΟΡ		"	"					
ΠΡ		"	"		⌘			
ΑΠΡ	ΖΒ	"	"					
ΒΠΡ	"	"						
ΓΠΡ	"	"						

* I have sometimes suspected that this particular monogram is only a malformed monogram ⊠.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Monograms</i>							
Demetrius II 2nd Reign.								
ΠΠ	ZB	Fr						
ΔΠ	"	"	M					
ΕΠ	"	"	"					
Ϛ Π	"	"	"					
ΖΠ	"	"	"					

Before considering these monograms in detail, there is one fact that should be noted. They occur solely upon the silver money. No bronze of Tyre has any monogram, which could possibly refer to a monetary official. This has an important consequence. Babelon (p. cxxiv), discusses the meaning of the monogram  and shews that it is the monogram of the word ΙΕΡΑΣ, so that with the other constant monogram  and the club surmounted by  we have an abbreviated form of the full legend ΤΥΡΟΥ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ. This is of course established by a remarkable tetradrachm and didrachm (see Catalogue of Types, below, nos. 39, 40).

Such monograms and such a legend, he goes on to say, clearly indicate a royal mint. Where the coins read ΤΥΡΙΩΝ then they are issued by municipal authority. With that observation I entirely agree. It therefore follows that in the second coinage of Tyre no Seleucid King ever issued a bronze coin, and that there must have been entirely different con-

ditions for silver from bronze. This is in no way modified by the fact that there are certain bronze coins of very low denomination (cf. Catalogue of type nos. 26, 42, 45, 47, 96) of which the flans are obviously too small to admit the word ΤΥΡΙΩΝ but they shew neither Α nor ΑΞ.

It may be taken for certain then that the Seleucid King was only concerned with the silver issues from the Tyrian mint. Either the right of coining bronze was of little moment or its intrinsic value was so slight as to obviate fraud. Judging from the extraordinary fluctuations in weight of what apparently are the same denominations in the whole of the Seleucid coinage, as well as in other series of Greek bronze, the conclusion is inevitable that the bronze coinage must have represented an arbitrary value and been in the nature of a "token" coinage, a position still actually existing today. I recently weighed a five shilling bag of English pennies, all current and in mint condition with the unexpected result that their margin of variation was more than 20 grains.

The presence, then, of a monogram on the silver coins may mean that the Seleucid King intended to fix the responsibility for their fineness upon somebody, who might be brought to book for defaulting. While that is true of other Seleucid mints, e. g. Antioch, I hope to shew why it was not true at Tyre. Again, as in no case does more than one monogram appear upon a coin, it follows that the responsibility might be fixed upon a particular individual or a

definite quarter. In the Mint of Antioch and elsewhere two or three persons sign the monies: but at Tyre a simpler method obtains. Each coin is referable to a single individual or a single quarter. That was a distinctly sound business procedure, appropriate to the Semitic instincts of those in authority at Tyre.

So much is clear, the rest is conjecture. The monograms may stand for officinae as Mr. G. F. Hill suggests in the B.M.C. for Phoenicia, or they may stand for monetary officials of one sort or another. Normally the table of monograms suggests that during the days of Alexander Balas and the first reign of Demetrius II, there were two authorities responsible, and in the time of Antiochus VII and Demetrius II (second reign) three. When circumstances demanded, more were added. Whether these authorities, officials or officinae functioned simultaneously or consecutively is not clear.

From this point the problem thickens. A cursory examination of the Table shews that for some considerable time **Φ** and **⊗** held the ground, and that **Φ** **Ζ** **Μ** from the beginning of the reign of Antiochus VII to the end of the series carried on.

Personally I am inclined to believe that **⊗** and **Ζ**; **Σ** and **Μ** respectively represent the same signature. Whether I am right in this or not, at least it is certain that three of these signatures continued to Roman times long after the Seleucid Mint of Tyre was closed and forgotten. Thus **Φ** runs from 149/8 B.C. to 123/2: **Ζ** from 139/8 B.C. to



107/6 and M from 151/0 B.C. to 103/2: That is rather a wonderful record. There is of course nothing inherently impossible in such lengths of service, and they might be paralleled by many instances in individual cases from many mints, but I confess that the longevity of the three principal officials of the Mint of Tyre arouses my suspicions. One patriarch in the service is conceivable but that all the principal officers should have put in forty years' work is a big proposition to accept. Of course it may be true that a monetary magistracy was an hereditary affair and descended from father to son, and in that case the difficulties of time are overcome: but there is not as yet a scrap of evidence to prove it so.

The theory that these monograms stand for officinae, though in some ways attractive, bristles with difficulties. **Ϸ** is perplexing. A digamma at this date is almost inconceivable, for what then could **Ϸ** stand? I venture a suggestion, though it may appear in the nature of the wildest guess. The Semitic word for "first" is ראשון, which would be written at this date in Tyre approximately thus 𐤓𐤕𐤕𐤓. The first two letters are perilously like the monogram **Ϸ**. Possibly then these constant monograms are intended to represent serial issues, covering certain periods in the year.

The objection to regarding them as the signatures of magistrates has already been noted, the arguments for rejecting them as the marks of officinae are even more cogent. A careful examination of

the dies reveals the fact that the same obverse dies are combined both in the Seleucid and in the autonomous mints with reverses bearing different monograms, working strictly within the circumference of the three more or less constant monograms. Although, there are, no doubt, many other examples, perhaps the following will be sufficient to prove the point. My drachm of $\Sigma \Xi \Pi$ with the monogram \boxtimes has an obverse identical with that illustrated in the Fenerley Bey Catalogue, 705 with the monogram Φ . Mr. Newell has two tetradrachms of Demetrius II of the year $Z \Xi \Pi$ with identical obverse dies but with reverses bearing the monograms \boxtimes and Φ .

In the autonomous series it is hardly worth while to detail instances: a glance at the B.M.C. (Phoenicia) will shew that they abound. The conclusion is inevitable. Different officinae would not use the same dies. Whatever else the monograms stand for, they do not stand for officinae. I am equally certain that they do not stand for magistrates. The conclusion to which I am forced is that the municipality of Tyre accepted the responsibility for the issue of all monies: for the bronze they had to render no account: for the silver they were referable to the Seleucid King, just so far as he had power to compel. When that power was stable they issued monies with the constant monograms, indicating periods of issue rather than responsible officials: and the same die might easily serve for more than one period through material overlapping and in the two cases

I have quoted, the signatures are the same viz:  and .

It remains then to try and explain the other monograms. I suggest that the municipality farmed out part of the coinage and the monogram stands for the individual, who had bought or otherwise secured the contract. Such an opportunity for profit would be quite in keeping with Semitic character. Individual enterprise no less in ancient days than in modern has turned a state controlled concern from a dead loss into a paying business. The silver mines in Spain will occur as an example, apposite because it was these very Phoenicians of Tyre and Sidon, who were interested. The Roman State found it paid better to farm them out than to work them on their own account.

It is further quite natural to assume that before the municipality settled into its stride and realised its privilege of striking coins and even afterwards, when its own machinery was inadequate to meet the demand, it went outside its own arrangements to supplement its issues. The monograms extant in the early days of Alexander Balas bear this out, and an interesting parallel can be found in recent British coinage. In 1918 the royal mint could not cope with the demand for copper. Part of the enormous issue necessary was struck at two private mints. Messrs. Heaton of Birmingham and the King's Norton Copper Company were pressed into the service and some of the pennies of 1918 and 1919 are marked with the letters H or K.N. to

indicate the source of their manufacture. The coins of Tyre bearing monograms other than the two early constant and the three later constant monograms are infrequent and so suggest some arrangement of this sort.

There is only one further point to notice about the second coinage. In the year BOP, that is B.C. 140 or A.S. 172 a tetradrachm and a didrachm of an unusual type were issued. The tetradrachm is illustrated in Bab. Pl. XX., 3. On the reverse in the left field is a substantial club instead of the usual club, surmounted with ✕, and in the field right below the date is the monogram. Most remarkable of all, the circular legend reads ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ as usual, but within it is a second legend in smaller characters, which reads ΤΥΡΟΥ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ. The monogram is ♠. There is also a didrachm of the same year, probably reading for monogram ♠.

It is impossible to account for the change. It may have been an experiment to gratify the young king, who was beginning to assert himself or it may have been some commemorative issue. The fact that it was not continued seems to prove that it lacked popular acceptance. It is entirely confined to one year and judging from its extreme rarity it must have been a very small issue.

My conclusion of the matter is that the three constant monograms indicate the yearly order of issue of the monies, something like the Amphora letters on the Athenian coins, or the months on the

Parthian, or to come right up to date like the figures 3.4.5, which were placed below the date of the English pennies of 1863 in order to indicate a consecutive series of issues.

As complete a catalogue of the known monies of the second Seleucid coinage of Tyre as is possible follows:—

ALEXANDER BALAS.

B.C. 150-145 A.S. 162-167.

Obv. Diademed head of Alexander to r., *chlamys* around neck, border of dots.

Rev. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ from left to right, circular. Eagle stands to l. on spur of galley; palm branch over right shoulder; in field r. date over monogram; in field l. club surmounted with monogram of Tyre; border of dots.

	<i>Mono-</i>	<i>De-</i>	
<i>Date</i>	<i>gram</i>	<i>nom.</i>	<i>Collection</i>
1. ΒΕΡ	Μ	4dr.	Bab. 887; Newell (PLATE I);* Nav. X, 1152.
2. ΓΕΡ	"	"	Vacat.
3. "	Η	"	B.M.C. 51/1; Bab. 889; Newell (PLATE I); Pozzi 2981-3; Nav. X, 1157-9.
4. "	"	2dr.	Newell (PLATE I); Nav. X, 1160.

* With the exception of no. 130 on Plate IV and Fig.1-3, the illustrations are all from coins in Mr. Newell's cabinet.

	<i>Date</i>	<i>Mono-gram</i>	<i>De-nom.</i>	<i>Collection</i>
5.	ΓΞΡ	Αϸ	4dr.	Bab. 888; Cumberland-Clark 274; Newell (PLATE I).
6.	ΔΞΡ	⊠	"	B.M.C. 51/2; Bab. 893; Newell (PLATE I); Nav. X, 1167.
7.	"	⌘	"	Bab. 891; Newell (PLATE I).
8.	"	Ɱ	"	Bab. 892; Newell (PLATE I).
9.	"	"	2dr.	Newell.
10.	"	ΑΣ	4dr.	Newell (PLATE I); Nav. X, 1166.
11.	ΕΞΡ	⊠	"	Newell.
12.	"	"	2dr.	Newell (PLATE I).
13.	"	"	Dr.	Nav. X, 1173†
14.	"	⌘	4dr.	Amer. Numis. Society.
15.	"	Ɱ	"	Petersen Sale, Dec. 1920, no. 190; Pozzi 2984; Oman; Newell (PLATE I); Nav. X, 1171.
16.	"	ΑΣ	Dr.	Newell (PLATE I) (= Nav. X, 1172).
17.	ϸΞΡ	⊠	4dr.	Bab. 898; Newell (PLATE I).

† Formerly Rogers' collection from Fenerly Bey Sale, Vienna, Nov. 1912, Pl. xix, no. 703. Dr. Macdonald published a similar drachm in *Zeitschr. f. Num.*, vol. XXIX, Pl. iv, 18 with ΑΣ, but I am convinced it is misread for ⊠.

SELEUCID COINAGE OF TYRE 17

	<i>Date</i>	<i>Mono-gram</i>	<i>De-nom.</i>	<i>Collection</i>
18.	☾	ΞΡ	☒	2dr. Newell.
19.	"	"		Dr. Newell (= Nav. X, 1176) (PLATE II).
20.	"	Φ		4dr. B.M.C. 51/3; Bab. 896; Hunter 65/61; Pozzi 2985; Newell, Nav. X, 1174.
21.	"	"		2dr. Rouvier 1869.
22.	"	"		Dr. Fenerly Bey, 705.
23.	ΞΡ	☒		4dr. B.M.C. 51/4; Nav. X, 1177.
24.	"	Φ	"	Bab. 900; Newell = Nav. X, 1178 (PLATE II).

BRONZE ISSUE.

25. *Obv.* Diademed head of Alexander to r., border of dots.
Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ circular. Palm tree with fruit dividing date ☾ΞΡ. Three specimens in Newell Coll. weights: gr. 2.305, 2.54, (PLATE II) 2.225; Rogers gr. 2.00 i. e. Dilepta.

DEMETRIUS II (FIRST REIGN).

B.C. 146-138 A.S. 166-175.

- Obv.* Diademed head of Demetrius to r., *chlamys* around neck; border of dots.

Rev. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ from left to right, circular. Eagle stands to l. on spur of galley; palm branch over right shoulder; in field r. date over monogram; in field l. club surmounted with monograms of Tyre; border of dots.

	<i>Date</i>	<i>Mono-gram</i>	<i>De-nom.</i>	<i>Collection</i>
26.	ZEP	⊠	4dr.	B.M.C. 58/4; Bab. 955; Newell; Nav. X, 1199, 1200.
27.	"	⦿	"	Newell (PLATE II); Nav. X, 1201.
28.	"	⌘	"	Bab. 957.
29.	HEP	⊠	"	Newell (PLATE II).
30.	ΘEP	⦿	"	B.M.; Newell (PLATE II); Nav. X, 1205.
31.	"	"	2dr.	Bab. 965.
32.	"	M	4dr.	Bab. 964.
33.	"	⌘	"	Bab. 963; Nav. X, 1204.
34.	OP	⊠	"	Bab. 970.
35.	"	"	2dr.	Hunter 71/24.
36.	"	⦿	"	Bab. 972; Newell (PLATE II).
37.	AOP	⊠	"	Newell (= Naville X, 1212) (PLATE II); Nav. X, 1211.
38.	ΓOP	"	"	Bab. 978.

SELEUCID COINAGE OF TYRE 19

SPECIAL ISSUE.

Obv. Diademed head of Demetrius to r.,
chlamys round neck, border of dots.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ, in inner
circle and smaller letters: ΤΥΡΟΥ ΙΕΡΑΣ
ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ from left to right circular.
Eagle standing to l. on spur of galley, palm
branch on right shoulder; in field l. club; in
field r. date over monogram; border of dots.

Mono- De-

Date gram nom. Collection

39. BOP ♠ 4dr. Bab. 976.

40. " ♠ 2dr. Berlin.*

41. *Obv.* Head of Demetrius II with diadem to r.



Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕ ΔΗΜΗ Palm tree with fruit;
in field l., OP. As the weight of this coin
is gr. 1.75 it must be a hemidrachm and is
the single known example of this denomina-
tion. Vienna (cf. Macdonald, *loc. cit.*, Pl.
iv, 20).

BRONZE ISSUES.

42. DILEPTON.

Obv. Diademed head of Demetrius to r.,
border of dots.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ right, ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ
left. Palm tree between LZ-EP.

* Dr. Macdonald in *Zeitschr. f. Num.*, vol. XXIX, p. 97,
23, Pl. v, 1. He gives the monogram as ; but a care-
ful examination of the plate shows it to be .

B.M.; Newell gr. 2.17 and 1.91 (PLATE II).

43. CHALKOUS.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΛΗΕΡ
in three lines above stern of galley orna-
mented with *aphlaston*; below ΤΥΡΙΩΝ
ⲓⲥⲓ.

B.M.C. 60/20-23; Hunter 71/25-6; Bab.
980-3; Newell grs. 7.58, 8.44, (PLATE II),
5.485, 5.195; Rogers grs. 7.128.

44. CHALKOUS.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar to 43 but date ΛΗΕΡ below
pro. B.M.; Rogers grs. 6.24.

45. DILEPTON.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar to 42 but date ΗΕΡ.

B.M.; Bab. 1246-8; Newell grs. 2.625;
2.225; 2.09; Rogers grs. 1.55; 2.68

46. CHALKOUS.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar to 43 but date ΘΕΡ.

B.M.; Hunter 71/27-8; Bab. 984; Newell
grs. 5.01; Rogers grs. 6.80.

47. DILEPTON.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar to 42 but date is ΘΕΡ.

Newell gr. 2.07.

48. CHALKOUS.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar to 43 but date is OP.

B.M.; Hunter 71/29.

49. CHALKOUS.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar to 43 but date is AOP.

Rogers grs. 6.27.

ANTIOCHUS VI and TRYPHON.

There seems to have been no Seleucid mint at Tyre for either of these reigns.

ANTIOCHUS VII.


B.C. 138–129 A.S. 174–183.

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus to r., *chlamys* around neck; border of dots.

Rev. ANTIOXOY BΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ from left to right, circular. Eagle standing to l. on spur of galley; palm branch over r. shoulder; in field r. ΑΞ over date; in field l. Α over club surmounted with the monogram of Tyre; monogram between eagle's legs; border of dots.

Mono- De-

Date gram nom. Collection

50. ΔOP  Hunter 84/57; Newell (PLATE II); Nav. X, 1249.

(IE instead of Α)

(ΑΞ instead of ΑΞ)

	<i>Date</i>	<i>Mono-gram</i>	<i>De-nom.</i>	<i>Collection</i>
51.	ΔOP	\mathbb{F}	2dr.	Bab. 1061.
52.	"	"		
		($\mathbb{A}\Sigma$ and \mathbb{A}_{IE})		
			4dr.	Pozzi 2998.
53.	"	"	2dr.	B.M.C. 70/3.
54.	"	\mathbb{ZB}	"	B.M.; Nav. X, 1250.
55.	"	Σ	4dr.	Bab. 1060.
56.	EOP	ΔI	"	Newell (PLATE II).
57.	"	\mathbb{A}	"	Bab. 1072.
58.	"	\mathbb{A}	"	Newell (PLATE II).
59.	$\mathbb{C} OP$	\mathbb{F}	4dr.	B.M.C. 70/5; Bab. 1088; Hunter 84/58; Pozzi 2999; Newell (PLATE III); Nav. X, 1253-4.
60.	"	"		
		($\mathbb{A}\Sigma$ or \mathbb{A}_{IE} or \mathbb{A})		
			2dr.	B.M.C. 70/6; Newell; Nav X, 1255-6.
61.	"	Σ	4dr.	B.M.C. 70/4; Bab. 1090.
62.	"	"	2dr.	B.M. (Bunbury); Hunter 85/64; Newell (PLATE III); Bab. 1091; Nav. X, 1257.
63.	ZOP	\mathbb{F}	4dr.	B.M.C. 70/7; Hunter 84/59; Newell; Bab. 1099.
64.	"	Σ	"	B.M.C. 70/8; Hunter 84/ 60; Bab. 1102; Nav. X, 1260-1.

SELEUCID COINAGE OF TYRE

23

	<i>Date</i>	<i>Mono-gram</i>	<i>De-nom.</i>	<i>Collection</i>
65.	ZOP	Σ	2dr.	Bab. 1102; Pozzi 3000; Newell (PLATE III); Nav. X, 1262-3.
66.	"	"	Dr.	Newell (PLATE III).
67.	HOP	Φ	4dr.	Bab. 1109; Nav. X, 1265-6; Newell (PLATE III).
68.	"	"	2dr.	B.M.C. 70/9; Bab. 1110.
69.	ΘOP	"	4dr.	B.M.C. 70/10; Nav. X, 1267.
70.	"	"	2dr.	Rouvier 1906.
71.	"	Σ	4dr.	Nav. X, 1268.
72.	"	"	2dr.	Nav. X, 1269.
73.	ΠP	Φ	4dr.	Bab. 1120; Hunter 85/61; Newell (PLATE III).
74.	"	"	2dr.	Bab. 1121; Nav. X, 1270.
75.	"	⌘	4dr.	B.M.
76.	"	"	2dr.	Rouvier 1908.
77.	ΑΠP	ΖΒ	4dr.	Gagarem Sale Cat. 1912, no. 63.
78.	"	Φ	"	B.M.; Bab. 1124; Nav. X, 1271-2; Newell (PLATE III).
79.	"	"	2dr.	Nav. X, 1273-4; Newell (PLATE III)
80.	"	Σ (Φ ?)	"	Egger Sale, 1913, no. 706.
81.	ΒΠP	ΖΒ	4dr.	Nav. X, 1276-7; Newell (PLATE III)
82.	"	"	2dr.	Nav. X, 1278.

	<i>Date</i>	<i>Mono-gram</i>	<i>De-nom.</i>	<i>Collection</i>
83.	ΒΠΡ	Φ	4dr.	B.M.C. 70/11; Hunter 85/62; Bab. 1126; Nav. X, 1275; Newell (PLATE III).
84.	"	"	2dr.	Hunter 85/65; Rouvier 1912.
85.	ΓΠΡ	Ζ	4dr.	B.M.C. 70/12.
86.	"	"	2dr.	Newell (PLATE III); Nav. X, 1281.
87.*	"	Φ	4dr.	Bab. 1137; Nav. X, 1279-80; Newell (PLATE IV).

BRONZE ISSUES.

88. CHALKOUS.

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus to r., border of dots.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ANTIOXOY ΛΑΟΡ
above stern of galley; below ΤΥΡΙΩΝ 𐤆𐤊𐤍;
border of dots, B.M.

* Coins of Antiochus VII dated ΔΠΡ have been published (Rouvier, nos. 1916-7, Bunbury Cat. II, 556). As Antiochus was killed in Parthia in ΓΠΡ these coins, if ever they were struck, must have been struck after his death. But ΔΠΡ is so easily mistaken for ΑΠΡ that it may fairly be concluded that these particular coins really read ΑΠΡ. Especially is this the case as we have a large series of coins struck by Demetrius at Tyre in ΓΠΡ, and it is not conceivable that this mint should have struck monies for both Antiochus VII and Demetrius II for more than a year after the former's death!

89. CHALKOUS.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar to 88 but date is ZOP.

B.M., Newell gr. 7.92 (PLATE III);

Rogers grs. 6.82

90. CHALKOUS.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar to 88 but date is HOP.

B.M.

91. CHALKOUS.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar to 90 but date HOP is below galley.

B.M.; Newell gr. 8.12 (PLATE III), 5.855.

92. CHALKOUS.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar to 90 but date is ΘOP.

Newell gr. 6.80, 6.17.

92a. CHALKOUS.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar to 91 but date is ΘOP. Rogers gr. 5.63.

93. DILEPTON.†

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Spur of galley and palm branch. Below, ΘOP.

† A 'Lepton,' *Obverse* Caps of the Dioscouri, *Reverse* Prow and palm branch, have been assigned to Tyre both by the British Museum Catalogue (75/70) and by Babelon (1168). This is more probably a coin of Tripolis and therefore not incorporated here.

	<i>Date</i>	<i>Mono- gram</i>	<i>De- nom.</i>	<i>Collection</i>
117.	ZΠP	ΖΒ	2dr.	Newell (PLATE IV).
118.	"	Φ	4dr.	B.M.; Hunter 90/35; Newell (PLATE IV).
119.	"	Μ	4dr.	B.M.C. 76/11; Bab. 1211; Nav. X, 1337-9; Newell (PLATE IV).
120.	"	"	2dr.	Nav. X, 1340.

BRONZE ISSUES.

121. CHALKOUS.

Obv. Diademed head of Demetrius to r.; border of dots.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ✕ IEP
ΑΞ in three lines above stern of galley ornamented by *aphlaston*; below ΔΠΡ 𐤀𐤓; border of dots.

E. Rogers grs. 5.90. Bab. Pl. xx, 5 is probably a similar coin as cast M. Babelon has sent me clearly shows; but the date is ΠP, it might be EΠP.

122. HALF CHALKOUS.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ✕ IE in three lines above spur of galley and palm branch; below, ΔΠΡ 𐤀𐤓; border of dots.

Bab. 1245; Newell gr.3.49; Rogers gr.4.08.

123. CHALKOUS.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ✕ ΙΕΡΑΞ in three lines above galley to l.; below.
ΕΠΙΡ ςϷ; border of dots.

Rogers; gr. 8.58 (Fig. 2, facing p. 4).

Newell gr. 6.37, 5.255.

124. HALF CHALKOUS.*

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar to no. 122 but date is ΕΠΙΡ.

Newell gr. 3.82, 2.87 (PLATE IV).

124a. HALF CHALKOUS.

Obv. Similar.*Rev.* Similar to 122 but date is ϸΠΡ.

(Rogers) gr. 3.82 (Fig. 3).

REGAL TYPES IN THE THIRD
COINAGE.

I have ventured to put in a class by themselves certain very exceptional tetradrachms and drachms bearing the symbols and the monograms of the Mint of Tyre, but instead of the usual eagle the Regal types of Athene and Zeus. The weights are Attic and not Phoenician. Evidently it was a small issue, because most of the few dates known today are represented by single specimens.

Mr. G. F. Hill in the Introduction to the British Museum Catalogue of Phoenicia says, "It is notice-

* Bah. 1246-8 belong to Demetrius' first reign and probably also Hunter 90/41 of which only H · P of the date is visible.

able, also, that the Phoenician silver bears (in addition to the mint-mark or name of Tyre) monograms similar to those we find on the later autonomous silver; but the Attic is not marked in this way. . . . Since the coinage with Seleucid types on the reverse does not bear these monograms, it may have been struck in metal drawn from the royal, as distinct from the Tyrian, treasury."

In this statement he is however misinformed. All the coins bear such monograms, and **Φ**, **Σ** and **Μ** are represented. These coins occur in the reigns of Antiochus VII and Demetrius II (second reign); and since tetradrachms of Phoenician weight were also struck not only in the same years, but actually with the same monograms in some cases, the only suggestion I can offer is that the Seleucid King for his own reasons interfered in the routine otherwise usual in the Mint of Tyre. A similar phenomenon is much more common in the Mint of Sidon and from Alexander Balas until Antiochus IX tetradrachms of Attic weight and regal types appear side by side with the characteristically Phoenician issues. It should be noted that in all these regal issues the portrait of the king is an actual and nowise idealized portrait of Herakles Melquart, vid No. 131, where Demetrius II wears a beard. It is conceivable that the exigencies of trade with the rest of the Seleucid Empire rendered such "equated" money advisable, and avoided the necessity of tariffing the common monies.

I have not been able to trace any copper issues;

but if it is sound that the copper coinage was in the form of a token coinage—and this the notable difference in weight throughout the whole Seleucid series, in denominations apparently the same, as I have already said, makes extremely likely—then there would naturally be no necessity for any sort of equation beyond mutual goodwill and understanding between all parties concerned. As it was a municipal issue the Seleucid king was not concerned.

The Catalogue of the series is as follows:—

ANTIOCHUS VII

B.C. 138–129 A.S. 174–183

125. DRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus to r.; bead and reel border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ANTIOXOY' (right downwards), ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟY' (left downwards). Winged Nike to l., holds garland in right hand and the folds of her *chiton* in left. In field l. club surmounted by monogram of Tyre; in field r. M. In the exergue ΔΟΡ. Berlin (*Zeitschr. f. Num.*, vol. XXIX, Pl. v, 2).

TETRADRACHMS.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ANTIOXOY' (right downwards). ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟY' (left downwards). Athene Parthenos, with helmet, double *chiton* and Aegis stands to l., holds a

little Nike with garland outstretched to l. on her right hand and her lance in her l. which is poised on her shield adorned with the Gorgon's head. In the exergue date and monogram. In field l. club surmounted with the monogram of Tyre on r. side of which downwards is IEP; on l. AΣΥ. The whole is a wreath of laurel with berries.

	<i>Date</i>	<i>Mono-gram</i>	<i>Collection</i>
126.	HOP	Σ	Bab. 1113.
127.	"	Φ	Bab. 1114-6; Nav. X, 1283.
128.	ΠΠ	"	Nav. X, 1284.
129.	ΑΠΠ	"	Nav. X, 1285; Fenerly Bey Sale, Pl. xix, 724; Newell (PLATE IV).
130.	ΒΠΠ	"	Bab. 1130; Nav. X, 1286-7. c.f. B.M.C. 71/18 undated. (PLATE IV.)

DEMETRIUS II (SECOND REIGN).

131. TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed and bearded head of Demetrius to r.; bead and reel border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ (right downwards), ΘΕΟΥ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ (left downwards). Zeus Nikephoros enthroned to l. rests l. on sceptre. In field l. club surmounted with the monogram of Tyre on r. side of which downwards is IEP, on l.

SELEUCID COINAGE OF TYRE 33

ΑΣ. Beneath throne, . M. In exergue,
ΕΠΡ.

Newell (PLATE IV).

In the foregoing lists the classification of the coinage of Tyre has been extended from the point at which Mr. Newell left it down through the second reign of Demetrius II with whom the issues of this dynasty at Tyre came to an end (125 B.C.). Certain of the troublesome questions of this series will probably never be settled unless some hoard still to be unearthed provides additional evidence.

TYRE—Second Seleucid Coinage.



1



3



4



6



10



15



Plate I



5



7



8



-12-



17



-16-



-25-





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TYRE—Second Seleucid Coinage.



19



24



27



30



36



37



Plate II



29



43



42



42



50



56



58





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TYRE—Second Seleucid Coinage.



59



62



65



66



73



78



79



Plate III



67



-89-



-91-



-93-



83



81



86





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TYRE—Second Seleucid Coinage.



87



94



99



118



117



124



Plate IV



109



116



119



129



130



131





CJ
35
N9

NUMISMATIC NOTES
AND MONOGRAPHS

No. 35



THE ANONYMOUS BYZANTINE
BRONZE COINAGE

BY

ALFRED R. BELLINGER

THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
BROADWAY AT 156TH STREET
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THE ANONYMOUS BYZANTINE BRONZE COINAGE

BY ALFRED R. BELLINGER

The attribution of Byzantine coins is, in the main, a simple affair because of the regular use on them of the imperial name; the chief difficulty arises from the profusion of Leos, Michaels and Constantines. But, at one point, the assistance of the name deserts us and we are confronted by a number of issues of bronze which bear in their types no evidence as to the issuer. Considerations of style alone would assign them to the 10th and 11th centuries, and, as it happens, we have the explicit testimony of a Byzantine historian to the effect that the series was begun by John I. On December 11, 969, John Zimisce had assassinated Nicephorus Phocas. Nicephorus had been Emperor of the Romans by right of his guardianship of Basil and Constantine, sons of Romanus II, heirs to the throne, and John, having disposed of his predecessor, was himself crowned as John I, associating with himself the rightful princes, as Nicephorus had done. Nevertheless, his was the hand that directed the empire until his death on January 10, 976, when his wards were left to reign together as Basil II and Constantine VIII. During the usurper's reign was begun the series of anonymous bronze coins, of pious types, which continued through several suc-

ceeding reigns, whose more definite attribution to their respective emperors is the purpose of this work. The testimony as to the initiation of the series is that of John Scylitzes, as quoted by George Cedrenus (Cedren. II, pp. 413, f Bonn 1839) Προσέταξε δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ νομίσματι καὶ ἐν τῷ ὀβόλῳ εἰκόνα ἐγγράφεσθαι τοῦ σωτῆρος, μὴ πρότερον τούτου γινομένου. ἐγράφοντο δὲ καὶ γράμματα ῥωμαῖστι ἐν θατέρῳ μέρει ᾧδὲ πη διεξιόντα “Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Βασιλεὺς Βασιλέων.” τοῦτο δὲ καὶ οἱ καθεξῆς ἐτήρησαν βασιλεῖς.

“And he commanded the likeness of the Savior to be engraved on the nomisma and the obol, which was not done before this. And Greek letters were engraved on the other side to about this purport, ‘Jesus Christ, King of Kings’ And the kings who succeeded him did the same.” It is not certain what the author means by πη. The actual inscription to which he obviously refers is IHSYS/ /XRISTYS/BASILEY/BASILE where the abbreviations are necessitated by the shape of the coin. This seems like too insignificant a variation to demand the qualification πη, but, on the other hand, the succeeding types which do materially change the inscription (e.g. IS XS/BASILE/BASILE) were, as we shall see, certainly not the coinage of John. But there are two more important inaccuracies in the passage. In the first place, while the nomisma does bear the bust of Christ on one side, it has not the inscription on the other, as Scylitzes’ language implies. Instead, busts of John and the Virgin

appear on the reverse (which is generally referred to as the obverse, from the convention of considering the obverse always that side which bears the imperial portrait) and John is there named. In the second place, the phrase *μὴ πρότερον τούτου γινομένου* is misleading. Christ had appeared on the gold of eleven previous reigns.¹ We must conclude, then, that in both these cases Scylitzes was speaking loosely and really had reference to the bronze obol only and not to the gold nomisma. Making these minor allowances, we may accept the passage as it stands, for it affords an accurate description of the earliest type of anonymous bronze, which we have every reason to suppose was struck by John. But before we leave Scylitzes, it is worth considering for a moment how far we can use him in determining the date of this first issue. Wroth (B.M.C. p. 481) quotes him to the effect that this coinage was inaugurated in 972. There is no date in the passage, so that Wroth, who gives no further evidence for what he says, must have dated the event from its position in the history. Now the passage immediately before the one under consideration deals with John's rebuilding of a church and

¹ Justinian II, 685-695 and 705-711, Michael III and Theodora, circ. 852-856, Basil I, 867-886, Leo VI and Constantine VII, 911-912, Alexander, 912-913, Constantine VII and Romanus I, 919-921, Romanus I and Christopher, 921-927, Romanus I, Christopher and Constantine VII, 927-931, Constantine VII, 945, Constantine VII and Romanus II, 945-959, and Nicephorus II, 963-969.

remitting a certain tax in celebration of his triumph over the Russians which occurred in 972 (Schlumberger "L'Epopée Byzantine à la fin du Dixième Siècle," Chapter III). It would then be natural to suppose that the striking of these coins came at the same time.¹ But the chronological value of the paragraph is gravely impaired by the fact that it ends with a notice of the deposition of the patriarch Basil, which occurred in 974 (Schlumberger op. cit. Chapter V) while the next paragraph returns to mention the appearance of the comet in August 972. It seems as though the historian, having paused to mention the rebuilding of the church, chose to deal briefly with sundry other miscellaneous matters before going back to the course of his narrative. The probability is all against so late an initiation of the coinage, for, as we have no other types for John, we must believe, if we follow Scylitzes, that from December 969 until August 972 he had no coins of his own at all and therefore had to continue in circulation the issues of Nicephorus, whom he had murdered. This seems so questionable, both from policy and sentiment, that we are justified in setting aside the equivocal testimony of Scylitzes and assuming that John's coinage begins where it normally should, in 970. The words of the text show that bronze coins with pious legends continued beyond the reign of John, and, as a matter of fact, there are

¹ Schlumberger (p. 184) adopts this view: "fit alors graver sur sa monnaie, certainement en reconnaissance des victoires obtenues."

the following types, bearing no imperial name, to be accounted for.

Class I. *Obv.*—+εΜΜΑΝΟVΗΑ Bust of Christ, bearded, facing, wearing nimbus cruciger, tunic and mantle; right hand raised in benediction; left hand holds book of the Gospels; in field $\overline{\text{IC}} \overline{\text{XC}}$ to right and left. Border of dots. Nimbus and book with various ornaments. *Rev.*—ΙΗΣΥΣ/ΧΡΙΣΤΥΣ/ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ/ΒΑΣΙΛΕ. Above and below, various ornaments, or none. Border of dots. Pl. I, 2–6.

Class II. *Obv.*—Similar. Nimbus with two pellets and ■ in each limb of cross. Book with ∴. *Rev.*—IS XS/BAS ILΕ/BAS ILΕ in the angles of a Latin cross on three steps. A pellet at each extremity of the cross, the top one with -- to left and right. Border of dots. Pl. I, 7.

Class III. *Obv.*—Same inscription. Half length figure of Christ, bearded, standing facing, wears tunic, mantle and nimbus cruciger with one pellet in each limb of the cross; right hand raised in benediction; left hand holds book of the Gospels with pellets on cover; in field $\overline{\text{IC}} \overline{\text{XC}}$ to left and right. Border of dots. *Rev.*— $\overline{\text{IC}} \overline{\text{XC}}/\text{NI KA}$ in the angles of a jewelled cross with a large pellet in the center, a large pellet and two small ones at each extremity. Border of dots.¹ Pl. I, 8, 9.

Class IV. *Obv.*—Similar to *Obv.* of Classes I and II, except that both hands hold book. Two pellets in each limb of cross; ∴ on book. *Rev.*—IS XS/

¹ This type sometimes reads $\overline{\text{NI}} \overline{\text{KA}}$, Pl. I, 8 (so given B.M.C. p. 507) but it is more commonly NI KA, Pl. I, 9.

BASILE/BASIL. Above $-+-$; below $-u-$. Border of dots. Pl. I, 10.

Class V. *Obv.*—Christ, bearded, seated facing on throne without back, wearing plain nimbus cruciger, tunic and mantle; right hand outstretched in benediction; in left hand, book of Gospels with \therefore on cover. In field $\overline{IC} \overline{XC}$ to left and right. Border of dots. *Rev.*—**ISXS/BASILE/BASIL.** Above $-+-$ below \blacktriangle . Border of dots. Pl. II, 1.

Class VI. *Obv.*—Christ, bearded, seated facing on throne with back, wearing nimbus cruciger with one pellet in each limb of cross, tunic and mantle; right hand raised in benediction; in left hand, book of Gospels with \therefore on cover; in field $\overline{IC} \overline{XC}$ to left and right. Border of dots. *Rev.*—**ISXS/BASILE/BASIL.** Above $-+-$ below $-u-$ Border of dots. Pl. II, 2.

Class VII. *Obv.*—Bust of Christ, bearded, facing, wearing plain nimbus cruciger, tunic and mantle; right hand in benediction; left hand holds book of the Gospels; in field $\overline{IC} \overline{XC}$ to left and right. Border of large dots. *Rev.*—Bust of the Virgin, facing, orans; wearing nimbus, and mantle and veil ornamented with \therefore on brow and shoulders; in field $\overline{M-P} \overline{OV}$ to left and right. Border of large dots. Pl. II, 3. (The casts are transposed.)

Class VIII. *Obv.*—Bust of Christ, bearded, facing, wearing nimbus cruciger with \times in each limb of cross, tunic and mantle; right hand raised in benediction; left hand holds book of the Gospels with \therefore on cover; in field $\overline{IC} \overline{XC}$ to left and right.

Border of dots. *Rev.*—Patriarchal cross with one large pellet and two small pellets at each upper extremity; at base, large pellet with floral ornaments to left and right. Border of dots. Pl. II, 5.

Class IX. *Obv.*—Similar to Class VIII, but with one pellet in each limb of cross. *Rev.*—Latin cross with one large pellet and two small pellets at each upper extremity; at base, large pellet with floral ornaments to left and right. Above, crescents to left and right. In the center of the cross X
Border of dots. Pl. II, 6.

Class X. *Obv.*—Bust of Christ, bearded, facing, wearing tunic and mantle; right hand raised in benediction; left hand holding book of the Gospels. Behind his head, cross, with ☩ in each limb, ☩ between the limbs. In field IC XC to left and right.
Border of dots. *Rev.*—Latin cross with large pellet and two small pellets at each extremity. Below the cross, large crescent. To left and right, above and below, large pellets surrounded by small pellets. Border of dots. Pl. II, 7.

Class XI. *Obv.*—Bust of Christ, bearded, facing, wearing nimbus cruciger with one pellet in each limb of cross, tunic and mantle; right hand in benediction; left hand holding book of the Gospels. Border of large dots. *Rev.*—Half length figure of the Virgin, orans, wearing nimbus, veil mantle and tunic; in field M Θ to left and right. Border of large dots. Pl. II, 8.

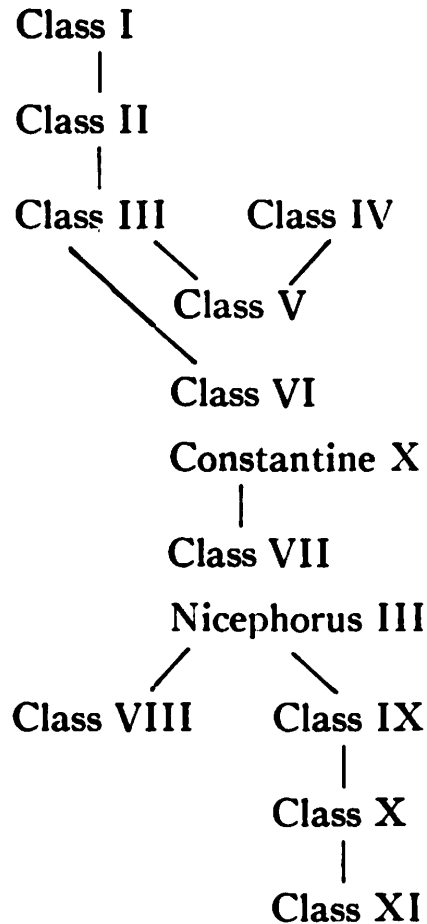
Class XII. *Obv.*—Similar. *Rev.*—Cross of four equal limbs, with a pellet at each upper extremity;

base ending in floral ornaments to left and right. Above, to left and right, crescents. In the center of the cross X Border of dots.

Class XIII. *Obv.*—Similar. *Rev.*—Small cross pattée. Above IC; below XC; to left, N1; to right KA. Pl. II, 9, 10.

The only thoroughgoing attempt to assign these classes to the emperors who issued them was made by Warwick Wroth, who discusses the problem on pages 480–483 of the Catalogue of Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum. Though my own arrangement necessarily differs from his in certain respects, and though it has seemed to me more useful to reexamine the whole question from the beginning than to make his essay the point of departure, I am deeply indebted to his labors, as everyone who works in the Byzantine field must be. It was Wroth who first pointed out that the order of issue of these classes could be determined by the evidence of restriking. That evidence, as far as it has come to my attention, is as follows: Class II is restruck on Class I (B.M.), Class III is restruck on Class II (B.M.), Class V is restruck on Class III (B.M.), Class V is restruck on Class IV (Berlin), Class VI is restruck on Class III (B.M.), Class VII is restruck on coins of Constantine X, 1059–1067, Class VIII is restruck on coins of Nicephorus III, 1078–1081 (B.M.), Class IX is restruck on coins of Nicephorus III (Berlin), Class X is restruck on Class IX (Yale), Pl. II, 11, Class XI is restruck on Class X (Berlin). The necessary sequence of


Classes, then, may be expressed graphically, thus—



From the reign of John until that of Constantine X there are no bronze coins with an imperial name or initial, so that Classes I to VI may be placed between the years 969 and 1059, and assigned to the following rulers: John; Basil II and Constantine VIII together, 976–1025; Constantine VIII alone, 1025–1028; Romanus III, 1028–1034; Michael IV, 1034–1041; Michael V, 1041–1042; Zoe and Theodora together, 1042; Constantine IX, 1042–1055;

Theodora alone 1055-1056; Michael VI, 1056-1057; Isaac I, 1057-1059. Wroth's arrangement was based on style: I propose to use the evidence of excavation. In the excavation of Corinth, conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, great numbers of coins are unearthed. In the year 1925, 693 Byzantine coins were found in sufficiently good condition to be identified, and, of these, 198 were anonymous bronze, distributed as follows: Class I, 79; Class II, 19; Class III, 11; Class IV, 1; Class V, 3; Class VI, 6; Class VII, 10; Class VIII, 15; Class IX, 31; Class X, 2; Class XI, 20; Class XII, 0; Class XIII, 1. It is impossible to be certain about the results of previous years, but, so far as I have been able to compare with those results, the proportions of the 1925 dig seem to be borne out. At least there are no striking discrepancies. With numbers as large as these, proportions begin to be significant, and it may fairly be laid down that the frequency of an emperor's coinage ought to be proportional to the length of his reign. Of course this rule must be followed with caution, but it is a useful supplement to the other evidence. Now, as we have seen, the coins of Class I are of the type described by Scylitzes as struck by John. But John reigned only from December 11, 969 to January 10, 976, and, even if we assume that he began to coin at once, instead of a year and a half after his accession, as the current theory has it, that gives him only five years, which is obviously insufficient to account for any large number of finds.

Nicephorus II reigned six years, and there were only three of his pieces in the 1925 dig. Further, Class I exhibits a great variety of detail. As Wroth pointed out in an article contributed to "Corolla Numismatica", 1906, there are different forms of ornamentation in the cross of the nimbus, on the cover of the book, and above and below the reverse inscription. A list of the varieties which have come to my attention, which are not all in the British Museum Catalogue, is as follows:

	<i>In cross</i>	<i>In book</i>		
1	.	:		above and below
2	..	.	nothing	" " "
				(Pl. I, 2)
3	..	.	"	" . below
4	" nothing "
5	" and "
6	..	.	—	" " "
7	..	.	— . —	" " "
8	..	.	∴	" " "
9	..	.	— ∴ —	" " "
10	..	.	++ (?)	" " "
11	..	.	∴ ∴ ∴	" " "
12	..	.	— * —	" " "
13	..	. (?)	— ∴ —	" " "
14	..	.	— ◊ —	" " "
15	..	.	— A —	" " "
16	..	.	— 八 —	" " "
				(Pl. I, 4)
17	..	.	— h —	" and below

In cross In book

18	..	.	-R-	above and below
19	..	(?)	-P-	" " "
20	..	:	nothing	" " "
21	..	:	-*-	" and "
22	..	:	-◇-	" " "
23	..	:	-○-	" " "
24	..	:	◐◑	" " "

(Pl. I, 3)

25	..	⊙	-∴-	" and below
26	..	⊙	∴∴	" " "
27	..	⊙ (?)	∴∴	" " "
28	..	⊙	∴∴	" ∴∴ "
29	..	✱	-◇-	" and "
30	-∴-	" " "
31	+	.	∴	" " "
32	+	+	+	" " "
33	∴	:	◐◑	" " "
34	∴	(?)	-*-	" " "
35	∴	.	-◇-	" " "
36	∴	.	-Γ-	" " "
37	∴	(?)	-○-	" -Γ- "
38	∴	(?)	-)x(-	" and "
39	∴	:	∴	" " "
40	∴	∴	∴	" " "
41	✱	.	-◇-	" " "

(Pl. I, 5 rev.)

42	∴	(?)	-A-	above and below
43	✕	⊙	-C-	" " "
44	✕ (?)	∴	□	" " "

	<i>In cross</i>	<i>In book</i>		
45	☪	(?)	—▲—	above and below
46	☪	⋯	—T—	“ “ “
47	◻	⋯	◻	“ “ “
48	⋯	⋯	—⋯—	“ “ “
49	⋯	⋯	—⋯—	“ “ “
50	⋯	⋯	—⋯—	“ “ “
				(Pl. I, 6 rev.)
51	?	?	—+—	“ and below

John minted two types of gold and two of silver, both, apparently in very small quantities. It is out of the question to assume that he issued fifty-one varieties of bronze. Wroth's way out of the difficulty is an ingenious one. He assumes that the decorations in the cross of the nimbus furnish the key and, after comparison with the gold and silver coinage, assigns to John only those pieces with one, two, or three pellets in the cross, reserving all the others of this class for John's successors, Basil, Constantine, and Romanus. But there are objections to this, both theoretical and practical. Why is the nimbus ornament any more important than the ornament on the book, or the ornaments on the reverse? It will be seen, for example, that the device —◆— on the reverse occurs with four different nimbus ornaments and four different book ornaments (Nos. 14, 22, 29, 35, 41). Why not assign all these to one emperor? Against any real difference of type, of course, such similarity of ornament would be of no value, but when it is merely

one ornament against another, the case seems much more doubtful. And, practically, the solution, while in the right direction, is nothing like radical enough. Nos. 45 and 46 he reserves for Constantine alone, and No. 47 he gives to Romanus, but that still leaves thirty varieties for the five years of John's reign, eighteen, at the most, for Basil and Constantine together, who reigned for fifty years! Of the 79 coins from Corinth, 44 would fall to John, 9 to Basil and Constantine, 1 to Romanus; the ornaments of the other 25 are illegible. Clearly, this will not do. Yet no other arrangement of Wroth's method will make things better. We must find a surer basis of differentiation or give it up. Fortunately there is another test available: that of fabric. The bronze of Nicephorus is struck on small flans (21-28 mm.) and generally on irregular ones (Pl. I, 1). There occur also certain pieces of Class I of identical fabric, with inscriptions in small letters like those of Nicephorus (Pl. I, 2). The general resemblance is so striking that it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that these were struck by John, continuing, as a matter of course, the fabric, though not the types of his predecessor. This conclusion is further strengthened by the occasional coins of this kind struck over types of Nicephorus. These pieces are uncommon: 3 out of 79, which would make them about on a par with the coinage of Nicephorus. As the gold and silver of both these emperors is rare, I believe that they issued little of any currency and relied chiefly on the coins of

Constantine VII, 913–959, and Romanus I, 919–944, which were abundant. If we assume that John struck the small coins only, we may then credit to Basil and Constantine the large issues of fine new flans of 30 mm. and over, which constitute the bulk of Class I. There are, however, two intermediate varieties, Nos. 24 and 40, which, while struck on better flans than those of Nicephorus, are regularly smaller than the other varieties, only one that I have seen reaching 30 mm. (Pl. I, 3). I should put these two as the first issues of Basil and Constantine, reserving the larger coins for the period of prosperity which began with the collapse of the rebellion of Bardas Phocas in 989. Further than this I confess I have no suggestion to offer as to the order of varieties, except to report that inconclusive evidence from restriking of one variety on another indicates No. 5 as an early one. The letters on some of the varieties may furnish a useful clue, but, at present, there is no evidence that is reliable. Nor am I prepared to prove how long Class I continued. If it was struck by Basil and Constantine together, it is natural to suppose that, after Basil's death, Constantine alone would continue its use, and interesting evidence of its persistence beyond the reign of John is furnished by the lead seals. Schlumberger (*Sigillographie de l'Empire Byzantin*, p. 421) publishes a cut of a seal of Basil II, showing on one side the portrait of the Emperor with his name, on the other, the bust of Christ of just the type of the anonymous bronze. A still more striking example

is a seal in the possession of Mr. Thomas Whittemore of New York (Pl. III, 8). The imperial portrait of Constantine VIII is exactly like that on his gold coins, while the type of the reverse is so close to the anonymous bronze in size, details and style that it seems almost as though it were struck from a coin die. But Romanus III introduced an entirely new type on his gold, and we should expect him to change the type of the bronze, also. Yet Wroth assigns to him one of the varieties of Class I, and, though I cannot be so specific as that, I am forced to conclude that he did strike bronze of Class I or none by the evidence of proportion. The simplest exposition of this evidence is to list the emperors, their regnal years, the Classes which I assign to them and the number of coins of each class found among the 198 before referred to.

John I	Dec. 969-Jan. 976	5 years	Class I	3
Basil I and				
Constantine VIII	Jan. 976-Dec. 1025	50 years	Class I	76
Constantine VIII	Dec. 1025-Nov. 1028	3 years	Class I	
Romanus III	Nov. 1028-Apr. 1034	5 years	Class I	
Michael IV	Apr. 1034-Dec. 1041	8 years	Class II	19
Michael V	Dec. 1041-Apr. 1042		none	0
Zoe and Theodora	Apr. - June 1042		none	0
Constantine IX	June 1042-Jan. 1055	12½ years	Class III	11
Theodora	Jan. 1055-Aug. 1056	1½ years	Class IV	1
Michael VI	Aug. 1056-Aug. 1057	1 year	Class V	3
Isaac I	Aug. 1057-Dec. 1059	2 years	Class VI	6
Michael VII	Aug. 1071-Mar. 1078	6½ years	Class VII	10

Classes VIII-XIII will be considered later.

As to the two reigns to which no bronze is attributed, the former has only one type of gold, attributed by a probable conjecture (B.M.C. p. 498)

and no silver, the latter neither silver nor gold. Each of the others is represented by at least one type of signed gold. It will be seen that the number of coins found, while not in exact proportion to the lengths of reign, is roughly parallel, and this, combined with the sequence of types, makes the arrangement a plausible one. If Class II were attributed to Romanus III where it ought to be on purely reasonable grounds, that would move Class III up to Michael IV. That would be possible, though it would not improve the present proportions, but, then, the $12\frac{1}{2}$ years of Constantine IX would be represented by a single coin of Class IV, which is most unlikely. A better amendment would be to assign to Romanus III the one piece of Class IV, of which we only know that it must come before Class V. But there are two objections to this. In the first place the fabric is not right. The size of the flan gradually shrinks after Basil and Constantine, and the place of Class IV in this process of degeneration is clearly after Class III even though there is no evidence from restriking. In the second place, such a change would necessitate either leaving Theodora without bronze, giving her Class V and leaving Michael without bronze, or moving Class V and VI up and leaving Isaac I without bronze. Of these choices, the second is the better, for, while Michael struck certainly one and probably two types of gold, Theodora struck two of gold and one of silver, Isaac three of gold and one of silver. Moreover, the reign of Michael was the shortest.

But it was not short enough to deprive him of his bronze without good reason. As nothing is accomplished by putting Class VI ahead of Class IV or V or both, and as, on the evidence of restriking, no other rearrangement of Classes I–VI is possible, the present order must remain as the best available solution until further evidence shall confirm or refute it.

The case of Class VII is different, and presents a problem. The termini of the type are defined by restruck specimens. It is found in Berlin struck over the type of Constantine X bearing figures of Constantine and Eudocia. On the other hand, De Saulcy (*Numismatique Byzantine*, p. 250) reported that it was used as a flan for Romanus IV, and such a coin, in the possession of the American Numismatic Society, is figured on Pl. II, 4. There are, then, three possibilities between which we must choose. 1. Class VII is a late type of Constantine X. 2. It is an early type of Romanus IV. 3. It is a type of Eudocia, widow of Constantine X, and her sons, Michael and Constantine. None of the choices seems satisfactory. The interregnum of Eudocia and her sons lasted only from May to December 1067, and Class VII is much too common a type to have been issued in eight months. If either Constantine or Romanus was the issuer, he must have restruck one type of his own coinage on another. This is not an unparalleled phenomenon, but it is a rare one, and a solution which one is reluctant to accept. As between the two, the balance of proba-

bility is slightly in favor of Constantine on the grounds of proportion. In the 1925 dig there are two coins of the signed issues of Constantine X, one of each, and two of the type of Romanus bearing his initial. Since the former reigned for $7\frac{1}{2}$ years, the latter for a little less than 4, the extra ten pieces of Class VII might more reasonably be attributed to the former. It might also be argued that the striking of an anonymous piece over a signed piece is different from striking a piece with an initial over an anonymous one, but whether this argument favors Constantine or Romanus will depend on the point of view of the individual. But there is another circumstance which bears against them both. Whereas the coinages of both occur in the excavation in small but regular numbers, Michael VII, who reigned from August 1071–March 1078 struck a type of bronze bearing his name, but it is represented at Corinth only by a single specimen found in 1907. This dearth is the more surprising because his successor Nicephorus III, 1078–1081, contributed forty-six coins to the 1925 dig alone, Alexius I, 1081–1118, one hundred and eighty seven! We know of no circumstance which could have isolated Corinth during the reign of Michael VII, and he was not without coinage, for he struck, in addition to his signed bronze, three types of gold and four of silver. To meet this difficulty I propose the following explanation. After Eudocia and her sons had reigned for part of the year 1067, in December she married again, and her husband, Romanus

Diogenes, was crowned as Romanus IV. The fact that this was a friendly arrangement, at least at first, and not an act of usurpation, is attested by the gold nomisma bearing Romanus and Eudocia on one side, Michael, Constantine and Eudocia's other son Andronicus on the other. Now the interregnum is also represented by a nomisma, showing Eudocia, Michael and Constantine, and it is possible that at the same time the issuance of Class VII began and either ran concurrently with the bronze of Romanus, or, having been superseded by his type, was revived again when the Seljuks had taken Romanus prisoner, by Michael, whose imperial position had never lapsed and who now came to the sole power at the capture of his step-father and the deposition of his mother. Of course, this explanation cannot be regarded as proved, and probably not as capable of proof, but it would show how the type of Romanus came to be struck on Class VII, and would assign to Michael VII that large class, supplying his reign with proper representation at Corinth, and forming an appropriate prelude to the abundant issues of Nicephorus III and his successors.

Wroth attributes Classes VII and XI both to Constantine IX and considers that "in type and fabric this (Class XI—his Class VIII) differs little from Class VII." The restriking shows the attribution to be impossible, and, while the types are certainly notably similar, the fabric does in fact differ so markedly as to make it certain that Class XI, which is consistently smaller, was issued by

another emperor, and a later one. In the Numismatic Museum at Athens there is a piece of this type clearly struck over a coin of Nicephorus III. It must, then be a type of Nicephorus himself, of Nicephorus Melissenus, pretender to the throne, 1080-1081, or of Alexius I. As the bronze of succeeding rulers is smaller, much thinner, and of entirely different types, they need not be considered. The frequency of the issue precludes the possibility of the pretender, and we must chose between Nicephorus III and Alexius. As there are nine types of bronze bearing Alexius' name, one hesitates to increase his already large issue, but the intimate relations between this, and another of his types, to be discussed presently, force the conclusion that Class XI is his.

Classes VIII-X and XI and XIII form an interesting group which has been rejected from the Byzantine series by the most competent authorities. Sabatier (Vol. II, p. 231) and De Saulcy (op. cit. pp. 377ff.) originally attributed them to the Latin Emperors of Constantinople, 1204-1261. Against this attribution, Wroth (B.M.C. p. 554) rightly objects that their fabric "is of the eleventh and twelfth centuries rather than of the thirteenth century," and that, as they occur restruck on coins of Isaac I, Constantine X, Michael VII and Nicephorus III, they should be placed about the time of Alexius. But Schlumberger will not admit them as imperial coins. His argument is based on provenance. "Tous les exemplaires de ce type que

j'ai reçu" he says (*Numismatique de l'Orient Latin*, p. 22) "me sont venus de Beyrouth, d'Alep, et même de Bagdad, confondus avec d'autres pièces de cuivre des comtes d'Edesse, de Roger et de Tanocrède d'Antioch—Il est impossible que des pièces frappées à Constantinople ne se trouvent qu'en Syrie ou sur les bords de l'Euphrate." Influenced by the similarity of certain pieces of Baldwin II of Edessa, (cf. *ibid.* Pl. I) he therefore attributes the anonymous pieces to the same ruler. De Saulcy accepted his reasoning, and Wroth regards them as "coins of the Crusaders struck in Syria or Palestine." These are authorities not lightly to be set aside, but the facts are clearly against them. No coin struck by the Crusaders in Asia Minor has yet been found at Corinth. If one or two did turn up it would be no more surprising than the occasional finding of English pennies of Henry III. But of Class X there were 2 in 1925, of Class VIII, 15, and of Class IX, 31. The excavations of other years have produced them regularly in similar quantities. Moreover, they occur quite as regularly elsewhere in Greece: in the British excavations at Sparta, for instance, and even at the Fogg Museum's small dig at Eutresis in Boeotia. They can be found in the hands of any antique dealer in Athens. Surely this is sufficient refutation of M. Schlumberger's argument that they are found only in the East. And surely there is only one coinage which could be current both in Corinth and in Syria: the Imperial Byzantine issues. The conclusion is that

they are coins of Alexius—Crusaders' coins truly, but struck for the Crusaders and not by them. The type is so significant that it seems impossible to attribute them to Nicephorus III, whose brief and uneasy reign is well supplied with bronze bearing his initial. Earlier than Nicephorus they cannot be, as they occur struck over his coins, and the emperors after Alexius are definitely excluded on the evidence of fabric. The few coins of Class X that I have seen are 27 mm. in diameter, or slightly larger; Class VIII averages 25.5 mm.; Class IX, 24 mm. The bronze coinage of Alexius which bears his name averages slightly under 20 mm., and, though the less common bronze of John II, 1118–1143, is slightly over 20 mm., that of his successor, Manuel I, 1143–1180, is never larger than 19.5 mm. and averages only a trifle over 16 mm. This decrease in diameter is accompanied by a decrease in thickness, hardly measurable but instantly apparent. Style as well as fabric make an attribution of the anonymous pieces to emperors later than Manuel out of the question. Their likeness to the coins of Baldwin of Edessa is now fully explained; Baldwin's currency was imitated from the imperial issues.

But we are now met with irritating difficulties. On the evidence of fabric, Class X, which is the largest, should come before Classes VIII and IX. But there is in the Yale collection a specimen which shows unmistakably a part of the Latin cross with floral ornaments of Class IX under the obverse type of Class X. Furthermore, Class XI, with the

bust of Christ and the half length figure of the Virgin, is found struck over Class X. There are five coins in Berlin which show traces of both types, and, much as I should like to believe that Class XI is the earlier, it is only too plain that this is not so. One piece, for example, was struck first by Nicephorus III. On the obverse is visible part of the nimbus, two limbs of the cross and part of the head and robe of Christ from his type. Above this are the two other types: the bust of Christ with a border of large dots, and the cross on a crescent, with only one of the large pellets surrounded by small pellets showing. This might be ambiguous, but, on the reverse, the Φ and Δ , one arm of the cross and one globule of the reverse of Nicephorus can be seen, over which is the half length Virgin, with no sign of the reverse of Class X, which could hardly be the case if this were the last type struck. Were it not for this complication, the coinage of Alexius would be comparatively simple. We should attribute Class XI to his earlier years, 1081-1095, the types with Christ and a cross to the period of his dealings with the Crusaders, and the types bearing his initial or name to his later years. One would like to believe that these pious pieces were first struck in connection with the pious enterprise which Alexius incautiously stimulated, and which all but engulfed him. But, if we do so, we must hold that, for the first fifteen years of his reign he struck no bronze, which seems unlikely in the extreme. The only way out is to prove that the

various types were struck concurrently, whether at the same or at separate mints, and for such a purpose we need a great deal more evidence than we now have. This confusion of types does, however, make it more certain that they are all the coinage of Alexius, especially when we find occasional pieces of the bronze with his name bearing the circle of large dots of Class XI (cf. B.M.C. Pl. LXV, 17 and 22). Moreover, there is one piece in the Yale collection one side of which bears the half length figure of the Virgin, orans, of Class XI, while the other has the Latin cross, large and small pellets, of Class X (Pl. II, 12). The coin is worn and obscure, but it does not seem to have been overstruck. It is apparently either a mule or a rare transitional issue between Classes X and XI. We must rest our case, then, with the assumption that Class VIII is the first of Alexius' types, to a modification of which he later returned because of its appropriateness to the Crusaders with whom he had so many financial dealings.

The question of priority between Classes VIII and IX is conjectural. I put them in this order because, in the first place, the flans of Class VIII average slightly larger than those of Class IX, and, in the second place, the Latin cross of Class IX with X in the center is more closely connected with the cross of equal limbs, with X in the center which appears on the reverse of the earliest of Alexius' signed bronzes. Class XII is figured by Sabatier Vol. II, Pl. LVIII, No. 16. It has not

occurred at Corinth so far as I know. I assume that it is another step in the development of the cross pattée. In the case of Class XIII, Pl. II, 9, 10, the cross pattée appears, though, it is true, the X in the center is missing. I assign them tentatively to the very end of the anonymous series, certainly to the reign of Alexius. It is to be hoped that a more thorough study of that reign may eventually serve to clear up the problems of his unattractive but important coinage.

It remains to say a word about the barbarous imitations of these anonymous pieces. There are two caricatures of Class II in Berlin among the coins from Baalbec (Pl. III, 1, 2). There is a worn coin in the Yale collection bearing, on the obverse, Christ seated on a throne with a back, on the reverse a blundered imitation of Class III. A smaller and clearer piece from Berlin is similar, Pl. III, 7. Another barbarous imitation of Class III comes from Berlin, Pl. III, 4. There is an obscure imitation of Class VIII among the coins from Corinth, Pl. III, 5. And, finally, there is another coin in the Yale collection bearing a barbarous bust of Christ on the obverse and with the reverse like Fig. 1. This, to be sure, is not related to the anonymous coins, being an imitation of a signed type of Alexius I (B.M.C. p. 551, Type 9). But I introduce it here for the light it sheds on the coin which Schlumberger figures, Pl. I, 17, among the pieces of the Counts of Edessa. I have



Fig. 1.

made no systematic search for such imitations, which may be quite common, and may either be the early attempts of the Crusaders themselves, or forgeries of Moslems or northern barbarians.

The problems of the anonymous bronze are certainly not yet finally settled, but it has seemed useful to record such evidence as is now available, in the hope that it may advance a little the much neglected study of Byzantine numismatics.



ANONYMOUS BYZANTINE BRONZE



1



2



3



7



8



Plate I



4



5



6



9



10





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ANONYMOUS BYZANTINE BRONZE



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Plate II



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ANONYMOUS BYZANTINE BRONZE



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Plate I



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Plate II



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6



Plate III



3



4



—7—



—8—





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NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

No. 36



NOTES ON THE DECORATIONS AND MEDALS OF THE FRENCH COLONIES AND PROTECTORATES

BY
HARROLD E. GILLINGHAM

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BY HARROLD E. GILLINGHAM

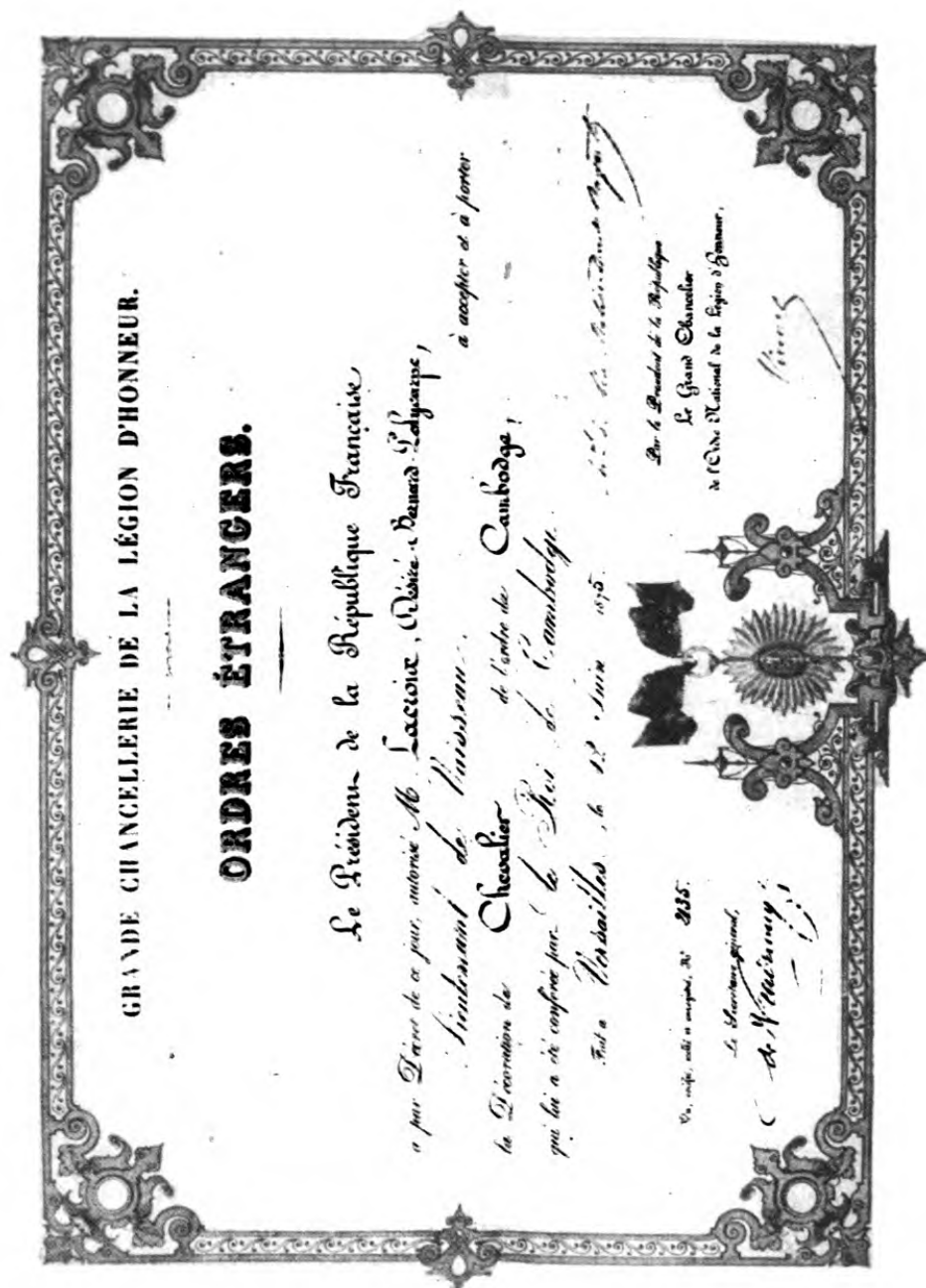
To many persons the French Colonies include only those on the African Mediterranean coast and Indo-China. Few realize the extent of the colonial possessions and protectorates or the number of their varied inhabitants. In North Africa, Morocco, Algiers and Tunis comprise an enormous territory, while south and south-west of their Saharan land are the colonies of Equatorial Africa (or Congo)—Guinea, Sudan, Dahomey (or the kingdom of Porto Novo), Ivory Coast, West Africa, the Senegals, Nigeria, with Somaliland (or Obock) in the east of that great continent. South-east of Africa are Madagascar, St. Marie and the Comoro Islands, while in the far East, Cambodia, Cochin-China, Annam, Laos and Tongking comprise what is usually spoken of as French Indo-China. In addition to the above there are Pondicherry in India, the Reunion and other islands in the South Pacific and Indian Oceans, such as New Caledonia, the Society and Marquesas Islands, with Guiana,

Martinique, Guadeloupe, and St. Pierre and Miquelon in the Western Hemisphere.

These possessions, which are practically all in the Tropics, include many millions of inhabitants—Arabs, Negroes and Asiatics; all of whom are generally so successfully ruled that they are most loyal to the French. In point of area these colonies and protectorates are twenty times as large as France itself and forty per cent greater than the United States.

The nominal rulers of some of these countries have established their own Orders, Decorations and Medals of Award. Some of these have never been recognized by France, cannot be worn in France without permission, and are treated as foreign Orders. In other colonies the French authorities have established honours which are awarded only upon the approval of the Grand Chancellor of the Legion of Honour, and these are known as Colonial Decorations. In both cases permission must be granted by the same Grand Chancellor before citizens of France may wear the insignia.

It is the purpose of this article to treat *all* the Orders, Decorations and Medals of the several colonies and protectorates known, whether they have or have not been officially recognized. Before doing this it might be of interest to explain the order of precedence in the wearing of decora-



tions by French citizens. The National Order of the Legion of Honour always has first rank—over and above all other Orders of the colonies or protectorates. The following is the order :

Légion d'Honneur
Médaille Militaire
Croix de Guerre
Recognized Orders of Colonies
Commemorative Medals
Palmes Universitaires
Order of Agricultural Merit
Medals of Honour
Orders of Colonies or Protectorates, not recognized.
Orders of Foreign countries

When a citizen of France has been awarded a foreign decoration, permission to wear it in France must be obtained from the Grand Chancellor of the Legion of Honour. To obtain this, the brevet of the foreign decoration is submitted to the Chancellor, who stamps the *Visé pour Autorisation* thereon, together with the number of the brevet of permission to be issued. This is called the *Brevet pour Ordres Étranger*, and in it is recited the name, occupation and grade of the recipient, together with the name of the order and a reproduction thereof in colour. A small fee is charged for this registration (see the illustration of permission to wear the Royal Order of

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Cambodia—Pl. I). If a brevet is issued in a language other than French, a translation thereof is given by the Colonial authorities (see the brevet and translation of the Ouissam Alaouit Cherifien—Frontispiece and Pl. II).

Inasmuch as the official native records of some of the orders herein described have been lost or destroyed during the many changes of government in the several colonies and protectorates, it is possible that some decorations have been omitted. All known authorities have been consulted and the best endeavor has been made to confirm all statements made.

Thanks are due to M. André Salles of Paris,—M. André Silice of the Ecole des Beaux Arts Cambodgiens, Pnom-Penh, Cambodia,—M. L. Cadiere, Cua-Tung, Annam,—Mr. Maxwell Blake, American Consul General at Tangier, Morocco; and to Mrs. Albert Duprez of Algiers, for generous and valuable assistance. To all of them the writer is deeply grateful.



MOROCCO

Translation of Brevet Ouissam Alaouit Cherifien

ALGERIA

This region of North Africa, between Tunis and Morocco, was first occupied by the Berbers, and in the sixth century B.C. by the Carthaginians. After the Punic wars, Roman control gave it a period of remarkable prosperity. It was devastated by the Vandals, controlled successively by the Byzantines, Arabs and Turks, and in the 17th and 18th centuries became a great menace to Southern Europe because of the pirates who infested the coast. Early in the nineteenth century the country along the Mediterranean was subdued by the French and English and gradually came under the domination of France. It is now managed by a French Governor-General and has become one of the most prosperous regions in Northern Africa.

There are no official Algerian Decorations. Those which are usually awarded in France are also bestowed upon the native Algerians when circumstances warrant; but there was an interesting decoration instituted by Abd-el-Kader, a rebellious Arab chieftain, well worth recording.

ORDER OF THE SILVER HAND, or *Décoration du Chéïa*. This was created in November 1839 by Abd-el-Kader (1808–1883), an insurgent who for twenty years gave the French authorities

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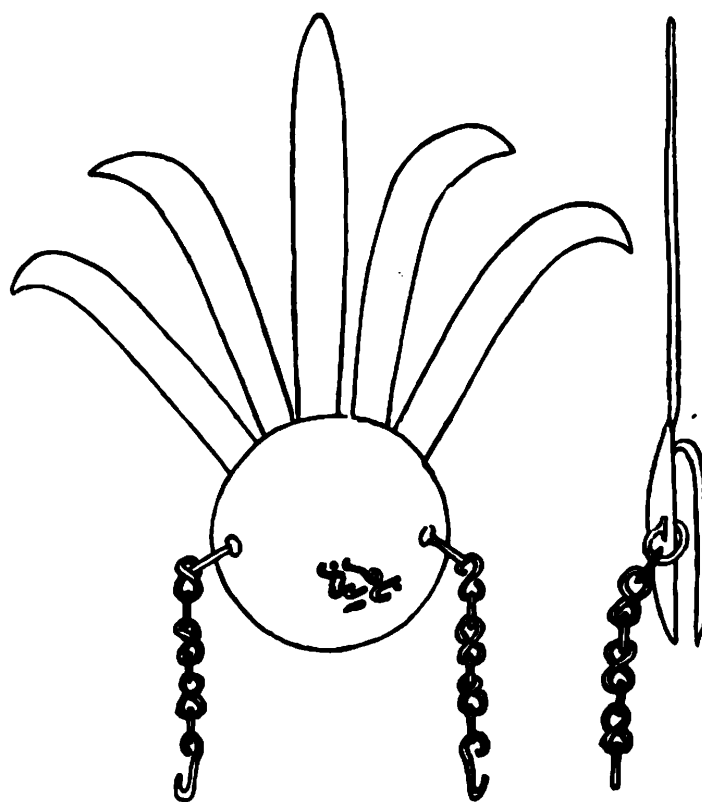
much trouble in the West. It was instituted two and a half years after the treaty of Tafna, the terms of which recognized his authority in Western Algeria. Abd-el-Kader, son of Mahi-ed-Din and Zohara, his wife, was born in Mascara, Algeria, in the year 1223 of the Hégira (1808) and was proclaimed "Amir of the Arabs" in the vicinity of Oran, November 22, 1832. For many years he was a thorn in the flesh to the French, but was finally captured and imprisoned at Toulon, France.* He later became a patriotic Frenchman, and as such he died in France, May 26, 1883.†

The decoration was founded to inspire rivalry in the regular army, and was only granted for brilliant action or for great services rendered, either to the Faith or to the country. The *Chéïa* varies in form according to the grade, and consists of a gold or silver plaque in the centre of which are the Arabic characters, *NASIR ED DIN*, "The upholder of the Faith." Attached to this are the so-called fingers; the number of which indicates the importance of the award. To the *Aghas* in chief of the cavalry or infantry, the award took the form of a plaque and eight fingers

* Petit Larousse Illustré, 1925, says (page 1169): "Abd-el-Kader was imprisoned in the Chateau d'Amboise in 1848-1852."

† "L'Émir Abd-el-Kader, 1808-1883" by Col. Paul Azan, 1925.

in gold; to ordinary *Aghas*, seven fingers in gold; to *Khadjas* of a thousand men, six fingers in gold; to *Siafs* (superior officers), five fingers, of which two are silver and three are gold, with a silver plaque; to *Khadjas* of one hundred men, plaque in



Facsimilé d'une décoration (grandeur réduite de moitié)

silver with five fingers, two of which are gold and three silver; to *Kebir-er-roff* (chief of rank), plaque of silver and four fingers, two in gold and two in silver; to *Kahia* (lieutenant), plaque in silver with three fingers, one gold and two of

8 DECORATIONS OF

silver. The receipt of the *Chéïa* carries with it certain privileges. "He who has it is treated by his superiors with the greatest consideration, and until the grade of *Kebir-er-roff* inclusive, he may enter freely the house of his superiors, even in my house." *

The *Chéïa* was also awarded to officials not belonging to the Army, who were in the administrative or financial service of the Amir. The decoration was not worn on the breast, but carried on the head, where it was held in place by the aid of the hooks, which attached it to the *haik*, or white cloth head covering.

* From *The Emir Abd-el-Kader, Military Regulations*. Translated by F. Patouri, Military Interpreter, Fontana Press, Algiers, 1890.

MOROCCO

Morocco, the country of the Moors, consists of the Western and North-western section of Africa, extending westward from Algeria to the Atlantic Ocean and South to the Spanish protectorate of Rio de Oro. This was called Mauretania by the Romans. From the earliest times the inhabitants of this country have been troublesome to Europeans. Since 1907 France has had an influence in Morocco, which has steadily increased until in 1916 a territory larger than the State of Texas became a French Protectorate, save for a very small section extending from the Strait of Gibraltar to a short distance beyond Melilla (known as the Spanish zone), and the internationalized zone of Tangiers. During the French occupation there has been a steady advance; now French Morocco has become safe for foreigners and the inhabitants are more prosperous than ever before. Too much cannot be said in praise of the French system of Colonial government. Fez, the seat of the Moslem learning for more than one thousand years, is the Holy City of Morocco. The Sultan of the country is assisted and advised by a Resident-General, who is appointed by the French government.

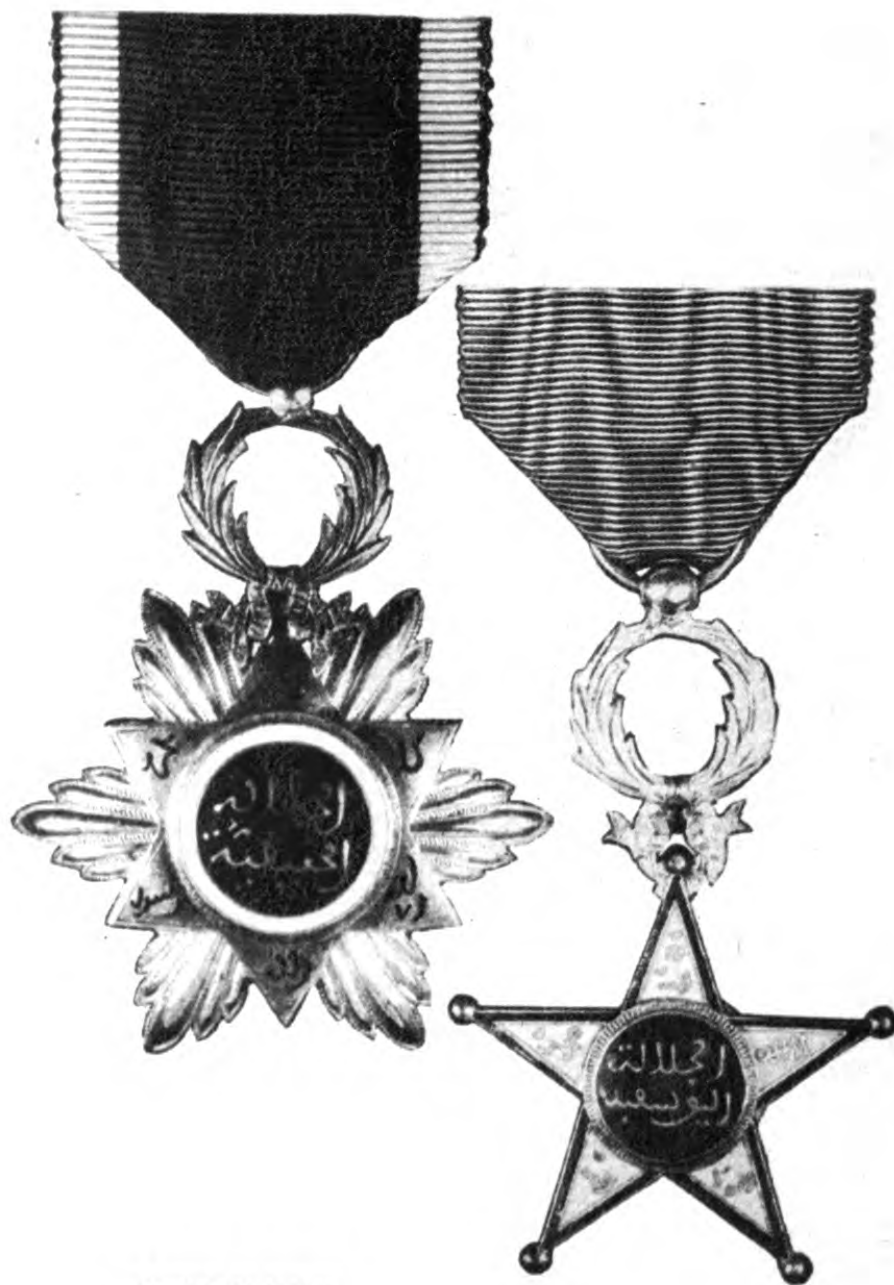
THE ORDER OF NICHAN-HAFIDIEN (or *Ouissam Hafidien*) was founded August 7, 1910, by the Sultan Moulay-Hafid,* who had been proclaimed Sultan in 1908 and who abdicated in 1912. There are the usual five classes. The decoration is of the same form for all grades, but the wreath of palm leaves surmounting the star is of silver for the Chevaliers. The insignia, which varies in size according to the grade, consists of a gold star of six points superimposed on silver-faceted rays, surmounted by a wreath of two gold palm branches, tied at the bottom. In the centre is a deep red-enamelled field, bearing Arabic characters in gold, signifying "His Majesty Hafid"; this is surrounded by a white and gold circle. On the points of the star, in Arabic, is the motto, "There is no God but Allah and Mohammed is his Prophet." The reverse is plain and the ribbon is red, with a white stripe on each side.

Plate III.

THE OUISSAM ALAOUIT CHERIFIEN was created by the Sultan Moulay-Youssef† in a dahir (decree) issued from the Southern Capital of Morocco under date of Safar 2, 1331 (January

* Moulay is an Arab word signifying Master or Ruler, and is a title carried by many of the sultans of Morocco. Spelt also Moulai, Mouley or Muley.

† Moulay-Youssef was a brother of Moulay-Hafid whom he succeeded in 1912. He died Nov. 17, 1927.



MOROCCO

Order of Nichan-Hafidien

Order of Ouissam Alaouit Cherifien



11, 1913), to replace the Order of the Ouissam Hafidien. There are five grades, Grand Gordon, for members of the Cherifien royal family only, Grand Officers, Commanders, Officers and Chevaliers. The decoration is a five-pointed, ball-tipped star of gold, white-enamelled and with red edges. There are palm leaves between the points except for the fifth grade, and all are surmounted by two palm branches tied at the bottom. On the white star, in Arabic, is the motto, "There is no God but Allah and Mohammed is his Prophet." In the centre medallion of red enamel, in gold Arabic letters, is "His Majesty Youssef." On the reverse in a field of gold is a red enamelled Cherifien umbrella. The plaque is an enlargement of the obverse of the Cross superimposed on five faceted rays. The ribbon is light orange in colour.

Plate III.

THE CHERIFIEN ORDER OF MILITARY MERIT was created by the Sultan Moulay-Hafid, August 7, 1910, and confirmed by a decree of Moulay-Youssef of December 30, 1912, regulating its award to soldiers of the Moroccan army and to members of the French army and navy, for distinguished conduct under fire. The decoration is a silver medal 30 mm. in diameter, edged with a laurel wreath. In a field of green enamel is a gold star of six points, bearing on a red-enamelled

centre the Arabic inscription "His Majesty Hafid." On the reverse centre of gold is the Arabic motto "Cherifien Military Merit." The medal is surmounted by two crossed flags of silver with gold crescents at the tips of the staffs. These provide the means of attachment to the ribbon, which is white with a red band on each side, and with a rosette for the highest grade Plate IV.



MOROCCO

Order of Military Merit

TUNIS

To speak of Tunis is to think of the Barbary States, an important part of the Mohammedan Empire. During the age of the Crusaders, this section was called the Empire of the Almoravids. The Arabs of the present day call the country *Afrikiyah*, which is probably derived from the Greek word A-phriké, meaning *without cold*. In the second and third centuries B.C. the country was frequently invaded by the Romans. Latin historians tell us that the Roman General, Scipio Aemelianus (the Younger Scipio), decorated his soldiers of the Legion, for heroic action, with garlands of roses. This is the first known military decoration pertaining to Tunis. The men of that legion were the first to enter the ramparts of Carthage in 146 B.C. The territory had many rulers before it came under the domination of the Turks, and since 1881 it has been a French Protectorate. During this period the inhabitants of Tunis have greatly prospered under the admirable system of French Government. The country is managed by a French Resident-General, though ostensibly ruled by the Bey, whose powers are limited. The title of "Bey" is hereditary; the present ruler Mohammed-en-Nasir is descended from Hussein-ben-Ali who was supposed to have been a Greek converted to Islamism in the seventeenth century.

The French Government does not class all of the Tunisian decorations and medals among the Colonials, but treats them the same as those of a foreign nation; special permission must first be obtained, before a citizen may wear them in France. The Order of Nichan Iftikhar is the only one recognized.

THE NICHAN IFTIKHAR, or Order of Glory or Distinction, is the best known of the Tunisian Decorations, probably because it is the only one now awarded to foreigners. In its earlier days it was bestowed upon the officers and high dignitaries of the Husseinite realm only. Authorities differ both as to who first founded the order and the date of its creation. According to M. Henri Hugon in *Les Emblems des Beys de Tunis* (Paris, 1913) it was adopted in 1832 or 1834 and probably inspired by the Turkish order of the same name. He also mentions and illustrates a portrait of Comte Raffo, wearing the insignia of the Order, bearing the name of Mustapha Bey in jewels, also one of Ahmed Bey. Mustapha Bey died in 1837 and was succeeded by Ahmed Bey, who is incorrectly given as the founder by several authorities. M. Hugon also quotes the writer, El Beji el Messaoudi, who said, "It is this Bey (Mustapha) who created the Nichan Iftikhar, on which he had made in precious stones



TUNIS

Order of Nichan Iftikhar (old style)



his name, and awarded it to his minister of Foreign Affairs." Certain French and Italian authorities give credit to Ahmed Bey and fix the date as 1837 or 1844, but if M. Henri Hugon is correct the credit should be given to Mustapha Bey. In 1846 when visiting Paris, the Bey of Tunis bestowed several decorations of this order on officials in France. The design varied according to the rank of the one honoured; thus the idea of different grades or classes. All the insignia bore in the centre the monogram or name of the reigning Bey, usually set with diamonds or other precious stones. The number and quality of the stones vary with the rank of the one decorated. Many modifications were made in the decoration and the methods of its award between 1850 and 1882. At this later date the regulations allowed the bestowal upon foreigners and women. The Order as we know it today consists of six grades: Grand Cross, Grand Officer, Commander, Officer and Chevalier of the first and second classes. The plaque of the first class is a ten-pointed silver star of alternate green and red points, resting on faceted rays. In the centre of green enamel, in Arabic characters, is the name of the reigning Bey. This is surrounded by a jeweled circle. The whole is richly studded with precious stones. The badge is a star, similar to the plaque though smaller, resting on faceted rays.

The arms or points are enamelled alternately red and green, and surmounted by a jeweled knot of three loops, to which is attached the suspension ring for the ribbon—light green with two narrow red stripes on each side. The reverse is plain. The officer's badge has a rosette on the ribbon and the badge of the sixth class is entirely of silver, unenamelled. Plates V and VI.

The NICHAN-ED-DEM, or *Ordre du Sang* (Order of the Royal Family), was reserved for members of the royal house of Hussein—the founders of the reigning dynasty of Tunis. This family originally came from Crete and ruled in Tunis from 1691. Although reserved for Husseinite princes, it has occasionally been bestowed upon the President of France and other high French officials. It was founded by Ahmed Bey in 1837, modified in 1855, and Mohammed-es-Sadok reorganized the Order in February, 1861 (Chaban 1277).

The decoration of gold and diamonds is circular in form, having rows of diamonds terminating in twelve points, with fleurons intervening. Above this jeweled piece is a knot of gold ribbon with five loops and two ends, likewise jeweled. The reverse is plain, and the suspension ribbon is green with a double line of red on either side.



TUNIS

Order of Nichan Iftikhar (new style)

THE NICHAN-EL-AHED-EL-AMAN was instituted the 22 Djoumadi II 1276 (January 16, 1860), by the Bey, Mohammed-es-Sadok, in commemoration of his confirmation (in September 1859) of the Pact of Confidence or Security, which was promulgated by his predecessor, Mohammed Bey, September 10, 1857.* The Order is conferred only upon those ministers and generals of the army, and civilians who have rendered loyal and conspicuous services to the sovereign or the government. The insignia is a gold star of ten points, enamelled green, with trophies of arms and flags of gold and red enamel superimposed. On this is an oval medallion, surrounded by emeralds, and below is a knot of ribbon likewise jeweled. On the medallion of red enamel, in Arabic characters of gold, is the motto, "The Favour of Mohammed-es-Sadok and his Confidence 1276 (1860)." The name of Mohammed and the date of the foundation are in the extreme centre of the medallion, in emeralds, on a gold field. Each successive Bey placed his name and date similarly on the medal he issued. Surmounting the star is a green-enamelled flag on a gold staff, back of which is the suspension ring for the ribbon, which is green with two red stripes each side.

* Canon Paschal in *Les Ordres Chevaleresques*, Marseille, 1895, says this was the First Order of Tunis and founded November 11, 1874, by Mohammed-Essadiq.

MEDAL FOR CRIMEA—1853. Arthur Daguin, a French writer, in *Les Decorations Français et des Protectorates* (Paris, 1900) states that the Sultan, Mohammed-es-Sadok, created a silver medal in 1855 for the Tunisian troops taking part in the Crimean war but gives no description. No other writer mentions it. As the Tunisian troops in the Crimean war served under the Turkish commanders, it is likely that the Turkish medal for this war was given to Tunisian troops and thus confused.

MEDAL FOR ARAB UPRISING 1864. Mohammed-es-Sadok Bey created on the 4th Hidje 1281 (April 29, 1865) a medal for those who took part in suppressing the insurrection of the Arabs, led by Ali ben Gdahoum, in 1864. The medal was of gold for officers and of silver for the privates. It was 30 mm. in diameter, and holed for the suspension ring, while the officers' medal had a gold knot of three loops surmounting the medal. On the obverse within a wreath of laurel branches is a trophy of arms and flags. At the centre of this is a round medallion inscribed in Arabic, "Iftikhar 1281." On the reverse, within two laurel branches, is "Mohammed-es-Sadok Bey." The ribbon is green with two red stripes each side.

The MEDAL for the expedition against Adel Bey was created in 1867 by Mohammed-es-Sadok, of gold and silver, oval in form, 35 x 28 mm. in size. On the obverse, between a laurel and palm branch, is a representation of the insignia of Nichan-ed-Dem, below which, in Arabic, is "Iftikhar" and the date 1284 (1867). On the reverse, in Arabic, is the name of the Bey. The method of suspension and ribbon are similar to those for the previous medal.

THE MEDAL OF 1881 was authorized by Ali Bey in 1882, to reward the troops who took part in the expedition of 1881 against the troublesome Arabs of the West. This was oval in form and similar to the medal of 1867, except that the reverse is inscribed in Arabic, "Ali Bey 1299" (1882). The ribbon is similar.

Since the beginning of the French Protectorate and the treaties of 1881 and 1883, the Tunisian troops fighting under the tri-colour are awarded the Medaille Coloniale of the French Republic.

The following Orders issued by certain of the European authorities are sometimes classed as Tunisian by writers on the subject, and are included here merely because their purposes were more or less related to Tunis and North Africa.

ORDER OF SAINT MARY OF MERCY.

During the thirteenth century, the frequent invasions of the Italian, French and Spanish coasts, by the Barbarians and Moors of Northern Africa, caused a number of Military and Religious Orders to be established in these countries. The earliest of which we have any record was created in August 1218 by James I, king of Aragon, and called the Order of Our Lady of Mercy or the Order of Saint Mary of Merced. The object of the formation of this order was to free the Christian captives in the hands of the Moors.

Elias Ashmole states that so well did they carry out the intentions of the order that 400 Christian captives were set at liberty during the first six years. The insignia was a shield, the upper half of which bore a silver or white cross on a red field and the lower half had four vertical red lines on a white field, like the arms of Aragon.

ORDER OF THE SHIP. This was created by St. Louis of France in 1269 when he set sail from Aigues-Mortes for Africa, with forty thousand men, the object being to encourage the nobility of that country to accompany him on his crusade to suppress the Mohammedans. The insignia was a collar of alternate gold scallop shells and silver interlaced double crescents connected by a gold chain. From this was suspended an

oval of gold bearing the figure of a ship; the shells representing the shores from which he sailed, the chained double crescents signifying the emblem of the infidels he expected to conquer. Owing to the design of the collar this is often called the Order of the Sea-shell or the Order of the Double Crescent.

ORDER OF SAINT PETER. Founded in 1520 by Pope Leo X, to suppress the barbarians of Africa who infested the coasts and raided the shipping of the Mediterranean Sea. No account of the insignia is given.

ORDER OF SAINT PAUL OF ROME was instituted in 1540 by the Pope, Paul III, for the same purpose. These two orders were at that time united, and had for their insignia an oval of gold bearing on one side the image of Saint Peter and on the other that of Saint Paul. This was suspended from a collar composed of three gold chains.

ORDER OF THE BURGUNDIAN CROSS was founded July 22, 1535 (St. Mary Magdalene's day), by Charles V, King of Spain and Emperor of Germany, as Favine says, "at the Kingdome of Thunis in Affrica." It was to commemorate his entrance into Tunis after he had defeated the

pirate Khair-ed-Din, surnamed Barbarossa, and restored the native prince to the throne of Tunis. The badge was a Burgundian cross to which was attached a steel, striking sparks. Around this device was the word *BARBARIA*. This was suspended by a gold neck-chain.

DAHOMEY

Since 1863 the French have been interested in developing the southern coast of the West African country. In that year Porto-Novo became a French colony—it is sometimes called the Kingdom of Porto-Novo. Like many other regions on the coast of Guinea, there was trouble with the natives. It was not until the end of the last century that, with the assistance of the French, Toffa, the King of Porto-Novo, was able to rest in undisturbed possession of the land, and free from the troublesome neighboring tribes.

THE ORDER OF THE BLACK STAR OF BENIN was instituted at Porto-Novo, December 1, 1889 (some writers say August 30, 1892), by King Toffa (Houenou Baba Dassi), a Royal Prince of Dahomey, to reward those who had assisted in making his kingdom secure. The order was recognized by the French in 1892. During the World War many foreigners received this decoration—over 280 were awarded to Americans. Why, of all the French Colonial orders, this was selected to be given them, is unknown, and inquiries on that point have been unanswered. There are five grades, Grand Cross, Grand Officer, Commander, Officer and Chevalier. The in-

signia is a Maltese cross enamelled white with blue edges; between the arms are rays of gold and the whole is surmounted by a green-enamelled oak and laurel wreath, to which the suspension ring is attached. On the centre of the cross is a five-pointed star of black enamel. The obverse and reverse are the same and the ribbon is light blue moiré. Plate VII.

MEDAL FOR ATCHUPA. This was created in 1890 in connection with the brilliant action on the 20th of April of that year, when the troops of Toffa, under Colonel Terrillon, were victorious at Atchupa, against the native pretenders to the throne. The medal is of silver, 30 mm. in diameter, having on the obverse, within a wreath of oak and laurel, the Arms of the Kingdom (a silver star in upper field with a rampant leopard beneath a palm tree in the lower field; the whole surmounted by a royal crown); above is *TOFFA ROI*. On the plain reverse field is *COMBAT D'ATCHUPA 1890*. The ribbon is light blue with three black bands: a large one in the centre and a narrow one each side.



DAHOMEY

Order of the Black Star of Benin



Medal for Dahomey



THE MEDAL FOR DAHOMEY, 1892. Following the troubles of 1892, with Behanzin the pretender to the throne of Dahomey, Toffa created a medal to reward those taking part in the campaign under General Dodds. It is of silver or bronze, 30 mm. in diameter, having at the obverse centre the crowned arms of the Kingdom, above which in relief is *TOFFA ROI*. Below are two laurel wreaths. The reverse, which is plain, has in relief *CAMPAGNE / DU / DAHOMEY 1892*. A variant of this medal has only the words *TOFFA / ROI* on the obverse, between two branches of oak and laurel. The ribbon is green with three vertical white stripes.

Another medal for Service, in the writer's collection, has on the obverse, within a wreath of oak and laurel branches, *TOFFA ROI*, and on the reverse the crowned arms of the Kingdom encircled by the inscription *ROYAUME DE PORTO NOVO*. No record has been found for this medal, or for the ribbon. Plate VIII.

TAJURAH OR COLONY OF OBOCK

This small section of Eastern Africa in French Somaliland, hardly two hundred miles square, is located on the Gulf of Tajurah, at the Southern extremity of the Red Sea, near the Straits of Babel-Mandeb. In 1856 the French secured their first foothold in this region at Obock, and within the next forty years had extended their influence over several of the small Sultanates of the vicinity. One of these was the Sultanate of Tajurah, which came under the protection of the tri-colour by treaty of October 13, 1884.

THE ORDER OF NICHAN-EL-ANOUAR of Tajurah was created by the Sultan and Sovereign of Tajurah, Homed Ben Mohammed in 1887 (some say in 1884). This was acknowledged and approved by the French Government, July 17, 1888. It was formed as a memorial of the taking of the Sultan and his people under the protection of France. There are the usual five classes and the decoration is a ten-pointed silver star with faceted arms, between which are ten five-pointed gold stars, surmounted by a royal crown, above which is a crescent. On a blue-enamelled central medallion is a five-pointed silver star, which is encircled by a red-enamelled band inscribed in



TAJURAH

Order of Nichan—El—Anouar



Arabic characters, and three stars. The plaque is similar to the badge, but larger and without a crown. The ribbon is of three equal stripes, two of blue with one of white in the centre.

Plate IX.

MEDAL OF DJIBOUTI. When M. Legarde was the Governor of the French colony on the Gulf of Aden, in French Somaliland, about the end of the past century, he secured from Paris a number of medals of white metal for distribution among worthy natives. There seems to have been no authorization by the French Republic for these, and no writers on the subject mention them. The medal, 28 mm. in diameter, bears on the obverse the head of the Republic, facing to the left, encircled by *REPUBLIQUE FRANCAISE*. On the obverse, within a wreath of oak and laurel, is *DEVOUEMENT A LA FRANCE*. The suspension ring for the ribbon—the tri-colour, red, white and blue—is an oblong of laurel.

COMORO ISLANDS

This small archipelago in the Indian Ocean, North-west of Madagascar, was first discovered by Europeans in 1598. In 1840 France first assumed control over the island of Mayotte, and by 1886 the entire group of islands was placed under the protection of the tri-colour. There are four main islands, Anjouan (sometimes called Johanna or N'Souani, the island of the Hand), Great Comoro, Moheli and Mayotte. In addition there are numerous small islands. Each of the larger islands had its own separate Sultan or ruler, but are all now subject to the French authorities. A local tradition is that the Arabs visited these islands in the first century A.D., and that a colony of Arabs, under a chief of the family of Anjouan, settled on the island of that name, sent their subjects to the islands of Mayotte, Moheli and Comoro, and for that reason Anjouan has been recognized as supreme. Three of the Sultans had Orders of their own, though only that of Anjouan is recognized by France.

THE ROYAL ORDER OF THE STAR OF ANJOUAN was founded by the Sultan Said-Abdallah in 1860, though some writers consider it earlier. It was reorganized June 18, 1892, by the Sultan Mohammed-Said-Omar and recog-



COMORO

Royal Order of the Star of Anjouan



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nized by the French authorities September 12, 1896. There are four grades, Chevalier, Officer, Commander and Grand Cross. The order is awarded to women as well as men for services to the Protectorate. The Chevalier's cross is silver, the officer's of gold and the other grades are silver-gilt.

The insignia is an eight-pointed star, each arm being composed of eight rays; in the oval central medallion of white enamel is a gold crescent surmounted by a gold hand—the emblem of Anjouan—and in the upper field, in Arabic characters, “The Royal Order of the Star of Anjouan.” Around this on a gold band is the title in French, *ORDRE ROYAL DE L'ETOILE D'ANJOUAN * COMORES **. The ribbon is now light blue with two narrow orange bands each side, though formerly it was red with white stripes each side. The plaque is similar to the cross, but 80 mm. in diameter. Plate X.

THE ORDER OF THE STAR OF COMORO, which is not recognized by France, was established by the Sultan of Great Comoro. No authority has been found which gives his name or the date of creation. There seem to be three grades, Grand Cross or triple star, Commander or double star, and Chevalier or one star. The present decoration is a green-enamelled gold star,

ball-tipped with gold rays in the angles. This is surmounted by a faceted gold crescent, with two green stars in the field. In the green central medallion, in Arabic, is the Sultan's monogram and, on the reverse, Arabic characters. The ribbon is light green with two narrow white stripes each side. The earlier decoration is said to have been a gilt star of five ball-tipped points with faceted rays in the angles and surmounted by a ball-tipped crescent and looped to the suspension ring by gilt cords. The crescent bore the name of the order in Arabic. The ribbon was red with a white star in the centre. Plate XI.

THE ORDER OF THE STAR OF MO-HELI was reorganized in 1888 by the Sultan of the island. No date has been found for its creation nor do we know the name of its founder. This is not recognized by the French Colonial authorities, and very little information is obtainable. There were five classes, similar to the Legion of Honour. The decoration is a six-pointed gold star, in the centre of which are two stars and a crescent. The ribbon of red bears a crescent and two stars.

THE ORDER OF THE SULTAN. No confirming authority has been found for this decoration, which is attributed to Comoro. It is



COMORO
Order of the Star of Comoro



COMORO

Order of the Sultan



said to have been founded by Said-Abdallah before 1860, though none of the French writers give any information on the subject. The decoration is a three-armed Moline cross, the upper arm of white enamel, the lower right in red and the left in blue. In the upper angles are silver bulls and in the lower angle is an eagle with spread wings standing on a native sword—both in silver. In the centre is a twelve-pointed star with a head of the Sultan. On the reverse, each arm of the cross and the centre of the medallion bear Arabic characters. No description of the ribbon is obtainable. Above the star and below the suspension ring is a sunburst.

Plate XII.

MADAGASCAR

This, the third largest island of the world, is about 1,000 miles long and 300 miles at the widest part. It is located in the Indian Ocean, and separated by the Mozambique channel from Africa. Madagascar has been known to the Arabs for more than a thousand years and was first visited by the Portuguese in 1506. In 1643, Hamond, an English writer, having visited the country, published his book entitled *Madagascar, the Richest and Most Fruitful Island in the World*. From this title one may see why the various countries desired to control it. During the latter part of the seventeenth century and early in the eighteenth the French had settlements along the coast, but wars with the natives interfered and it was not until 1861 that the island was opened to European trade and missions. Since that time the French have taken the lead in the settlement of the island. Madagascar became a French protectorate in 1885 and from 1896 * has been a colony. The inhabitants, called Madecassas or Malagache, were formerly divided into several tribes, the better known of which are the Sakalaves and the Hovas. The former had control from the middle of the seventeenth to the end of

* French medals were issued for troops taking part in these expeditions of 1885 and 1894-6.

the eighteenth centuries. Since then, the Hovas, the most advanced and intelligent of these tribes, have ruled. The kings and queens have been as follows:

Radama I, born 1792, became king in 1810 and died in 1828 aged 36; he was succeeded by one of his wives,

Ranavalona I, who reigned from 1828 to 1861, to be followed by her son,

Radama II, who reigned but two years (1861-1862). He was killed during a native uprising, and was succeeded by his wife,

Rasoherina, who reigned as queen from 1863 to 1868 when she died, and was followed by her cousin,

Ranavalona II, who mounted the throne in 1868 and reigned until her death on July 13, 1883. She, like her predecessor and her successor, married the Prime Minister, Rainilaiarivony. He was very powerful and was believed to be responsible for the trouble which brought about the French protectorate in 1885. At the death of Ranavalona II, she was succeeded by her niece, Razafindrahety, who took the title of Ranavalona III. She was crowned July 14, 1883, and continued on the throne until the French confined her on Reunion Island in 1897. Two years later she was sent to Algiers, and there she died in 1917.

THE ORDER OF MERIT, or Order of Radama II, as it is sometimes called, was instituted September 25, 1862, by King Radama II, with but one class. The decoration is a seven-pointed, white-enamelled star with gold rays in the angles, surmounted by a royal crown. In the central medallion is the head of the king in gold, facing to the left and surrounded by a blue-enamelled band inscribed *RADAMA II MPANJAKA*. On the reverse centre of gold is a palm tree with mountains in the distance, encircled by a band inscribed *MADAGASCAR*. The ribbon is white with a blue band each side. Plate XIII.

THE MEDAL OF MERIT was instituted by the same king at the same time, for the purpose of rewarding soldiers and others in the royal service. It was issued in silver and gold, of 32 mm. diameter, with the head of Radama II facing to the left, surrounded by a wreath of palm leaves. The inscription reads *RADAMA II MPANJAKA*. The reverse bears the inscription, *MADAGASCAR / ANTANANARIVO / 23 / SEPTEMBRE / 1862*—also within a wreath of palms. The moiré silk ribbon is red and white with the white diagonally encroaching upon the red above the suspension ring. Plate XIII.

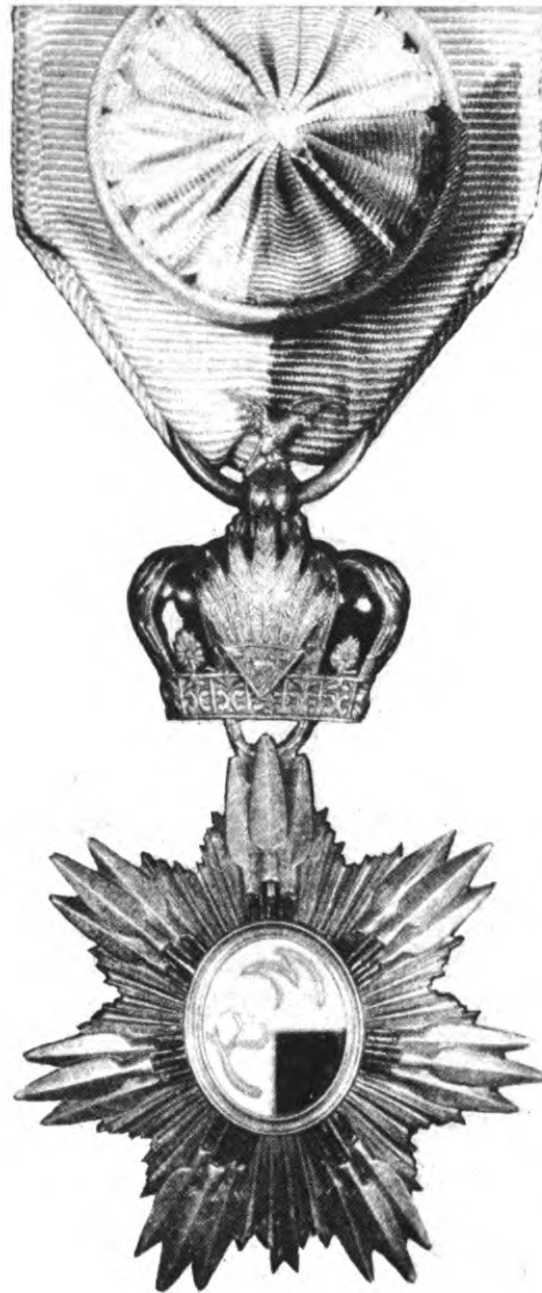
The gold medal here illustrated has every appearance of having been made in France. Ra-



MADAGASCAR

Medal of Merit

Radama II
Order of Merit



MADAGASCAR

Order of Ranavalona



dama was partial to the French influence in his country, and may have instituted these decorations at the instigation of French officials.

THE ORDER OF RANAVALO. This was probably founded by the queen, Ranavalona II, who reigned from 1868 to 1883, though no authority has been found for its creation. The decoration is a seven-pointed star,* each point being formed of three spear heads, resting on faceted rays, and surmounted by a native crown with seven feathers superimposed, and a bird above in the suspension ring. In the oval medallion are the initials R. M. (Ranavalona Mpanjaka) on a white field which takes up three-quarters of the oval; the other quarter, the lower right side, is red. The reverse is plain and the ribbon is white save for the lower right hand section, which is red.

Plate XIV.

THE MEDAL OF MERIT MALAGACHE.†

This was instituted by the French Colonial Department May 14, 1901, as a reward to natives who were prominent in the commerce, industry or agriculture of the colony. There are three grades—gold, silver and bronze, 35 mm. in diam-

* Jules Martin—1912—states the star has five branches.

† Malagache, a name given the inhabitants of Madagascar.

eter. The medal is surmounted by six spears, and branches of palm and laurel. On the obverse is a head of the Republic, by Roty, with flowing hair, a liberty cap and crown of laurel, encircled by the motto *REPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE*. On the reverse, within an oak and laurel wreath, is *COLONIE / DE / MADAGASCAR / HONNEUR / MERITE / TRAVAIL*. The moiré silk ribbon is half blue and half white.

Plate XV.

THE MEDAL OF HONOUR was created by the same authorities at the same time and intended for a lesser reward. It is 25 mm. in diameter, having a similar obverse, while the reverse bears a tablet inscribed *HONNEUR / ET / TRAVAIL* encircled by palm and laurel branches and *MADAGASCAR ET DEPENDANCES*. The ribbon is maroon, edged with gold.

Plate XV.



MADAGASCAR

Medal of Merit

Medal of Honour



FRENCH INDO-CHINA

The territory of French Indo-China lies to the extreme South-east of China, and east of Siam. The earliest knowledge we have of the region is derived from the Chinese historians who mention the Annamese of 2257 B.C. The country is now divided into the colony of Cochin-China and the protectorates of Annam, Cambodia, Laos and Tong-king. Cochin-China is under the direct administration of France through its Lieutenant Governor, who resides at Saigon. In Annam the Emperor Bao-Dai is nominal sovereign, assisted by the French Résident-Supérieur. In Cambodia the king directs the native administration, assisted by a Résident-Supérieur. Laos has several departments, but that of Luang-Prabang only has a king, who is aided by a Résident-Supérieur. In Tong-king the Résident-Supérieur in the absence of any sectional native ruler is the sole governor.

French missionaries were established in this section in the seventeenth century * and the first treaty was made in 1787 with Gia-Long, the king of Annam, during the reign of Louis XVI.

* Guillaume Mahot, of the Foreign Mission Society of Paris, went to Cochin-China in 1666 and died at Fai-fo in 1684. From *Bulletin des Amis de Vieux Hué*, page 408, 1915, No. 4.

In 1857 an expedition was sent out by France, since which time the gradual extension of control has been brought about, and from 1883 the country has been entirely under French domination. The satisfactory government of these colonies is evidenced by the loyal support of the natives during the war with Germany, when several hundred thousand troops and workers were sent to France to assist the mother-country. Many millions of francs were subscribed by them for the war loans and relief societies.

The only regional decoration which applies throughout *all* of Indo-China is the

ORDER OF MERIT. Founded by the Governor-General at Saigon, April 30, 1900, as a reward for exceptional services rendered in agriculture, commerce, industry and the arts. It is awarded to natives and to Asiatics only, and there are three classes, gold, silver and bronze. The decoration is a ball-tipped star of six points, 55 mm. in diameter, surmounted by a suspension ring composed of two branches of laurel. In the round medallion are the words *INDOCHINE: FRANÇAISE*, encircling two native characters, signifying *To make known that which is beautiful*. The ribbon is bright yellow. Plate XVI.



FRENCH INDO CHINA

Order of Merit



ANNAM

Brevet of the Sapèque D'Argent



ANNAM

Plaque of Honour 1863



PLAQUE OF HONOUR. This was instituted in 1863 by the Emperor, Tu-Duc, in the sixteenth year of his reign and awarded to those who assisted in the great famine of that period. The decoration is a thin silver oval plate 79 x 62 mm. and 13.5 grains in weight, bearing in the centre native characters *LAC GUYÊN NGAI DÂN*, "For lavish generosity in the help of the people." The pin-point impressions on the edge indicate the weight of the piece.* Plate XXIII.

MEDAL OF MERIT. This was issued during the epoch of Minh-Mang (1820-1840), and, as its name indicates, was probably awarded to the troops and civilians for exceptional services, though the writers on the subject say little about it. It is a thin oblong silver plaque, 64 x 50 mm., bearing in the centre *Thuong Cong*—signifying Reward of Merit. The pin-point impressions on the edge indicate the weight of the piece.†

THE IMPERIAL ORDER OF THE DRAGON was adopted at Hué, the capital, March 14, 1886 ("the ninth day of the second month of the first year of his reign"), by the Emperor Dông-Khánh, as a reward for civil and military

* *Etudes Numismatique Annam*, 1905, Schroeder, pp. 506, No. 614.

† *Etudes Numismatique Annam*, 1905, Schroeder. Plate LXXX, No. 353.

service to the Emperor * or the Protectorate, and is sometimes conferred on women. It is the only Annamite Order which is recognized by France and was approved by the decrees of May 31, 1896, and of July 12, 1897. Like the other recognized Colonial Orders, it is under the control of the Minister of Colonies and the Grand Chancellor of the Legion of Honour. There are five classes, Grand Cross, Grand Officer, Commander, Officer and Chevalier, and the decorations are 70 mm., 60 mm., and 40 mm. in size, according to the grade. The decoration is a star of eight points formed of forty faceted rays and surmounted by an imperial crown, above which is a green-enamelled dragon. In the oval medallion of light-blue enamel are native characters in gold, *DONG-KHANH-HOANG-DÉ*, and Annamite heraldic rays, representing the sun, surround these characters. The reverse is plain and the decoration, the same for civilians and military, is of gold for all grades except that of Chevalier, which is of silver. The ribbon is green bordered with orange for civilians and white edged with orange for military members. The plaque is 90 mm. in size, with a superimposed enamelled dragon holding the centre of the medallion.

Plates XXIV and XXV.

* Dong-Khanh was installed July, 1885, by the French Resident General, de Courcy.



ANNAM

Imperial Order of the Dragon



Brevet of the Imperial Order of the Dragon

THE EMPERORS OF ANNAM SINCE 1802

GIA-LONG (or Nguyen-Anh), who took the name of Gia-Long and title of Emperor on June 1, 1802, and died February 3, 1820.

MINH-MANG, born May 25, 1791, at Tan-Loc (son of Gia-Long and his second wife, Princess Thuan-Thien-Cao-Hoang-Hau), was enthroned February 14, 1820. He died January 11, 1841, and was buried at Hien-Lang, August 25, 1841. He created the Ngân-Bài, or silver plaque, in 1825 as a reward for Military services and in 1832 ordered the Tien as an award for exceptional services.

THIÊU-TRI, the eldest son of Minh-Mang, was born June 16, 1807, and proclaimed Emperor February 11, 1841. He died November 27, 1847, and was buried June 24, 1848, at Xurong-Lang.

TU-DUC, a son of Thiêu-Tri, mounted the throne October 29, 1848, and died July 19, 1883. It was during his reign that the Kim-Khánh first became known to foreigners.

KIẾN-PHÚC was born February 12, 1869, elected Emperor November 29, 1883, and died July 31, 1884.

HAM-NGHI, a brother of Tu-Duc, ascended the throne August 2, 1884, and died July 5, 1885.

DÔNG-KHÁNH, born February 19, 1864. He was the oldest son of Prince Kien-Thau-Vurong (the 26th son of Thiêu-Tri), and was adopted son of Tu-Duc and the brother of Ham-Nghi. Elected Emperor September 20, 1885, he died January 28, 1889. He instituted the Imperial Order of the Dragon of Annam in 1886.

THÀNH-THÁI was declared Emperor February 1, 1889, and dethroned September 9, 1907, by the French authorities for excessive cruelties to the women of his household and for opposing the French officials. He was sent to Reunion Island, November, 1916, with his son, Duy-Tan. During his reign the Kim-Bôi was instituted.

DUY-TAN, the son of Thành-Thái, was declared Emperor September 9, 1907, when eight years of age. He was dethroned May 3, 1916, by the French authorities, when he left the Palace to join a rebellion against the French. They arrested him, and in November, 1916, he was sent to Reunion Island with his father, Thành-Thái.

KHẢI-DINH (or Son of Heaven), the eldest son of Đông-Khánh, was born October 8, 1885, with the title of Prince Buru-Dao. He was

selected by the Annamite and French Colonial authorities to succeed Duy-Tan, and ascended the throne as Emperor May 17, 1916, assuming the title of Khải-Dinh. He died November 6, 1925.

BAO-DAI (meaning Greatness Sustained), his son, who was being educated in Paris, was elected Emperor at the age of thirteen years in January, 1926. He was named *Vinh-thuy*, and assumed the name of Bao-Dai when enthroned. He returned to Paris to complete his education, and a Conseil de Régence governs.

CAMBODIA

The Southern section of French Indo-China is called Cambodge by the French and Sroc-Khmer by the natives. During the fifth century A.D., the Khmers, of Hindu origin, occupied the country and built many cities and monuments, notably those of Angkor-Thom and Angkor-Vat. The European name for Cambodia is probably derived from the Hindu, *Kambu*, the traditional founder of the Khmer clan. From the fourteenth to the end of the seventeenth century, the country was continuously at war with the Chinese from the North. The Annamese predominated in the population and controlled the country until the nineteenth century. After the French occupation of Annam, the King of Cambodia, Norodom I, fearing the encroachment of Siam, concluded a treaty with France on August 11, 1863. Since that time the country has been a protectorate of France, under a Résident-Supérieur. The present native ruler is King Monivong, whose capital is Pnomh-Penh, on the Mekong River.

THE ROYAL ORDER OF CAMBODIA was founded February 8, 1864, by the king, Norodom I (1835-1904), to reward civil and military services. There are the usual five classes, Grand Cross, Grand Officer, Commander, Officer and



CAMBODIA

Royal Order of Cambodia

Chevalier. Foreigners are also given the decoration. The star of the chevalier is of silver; all others are of gold. The insignia is an eight-pointed faceted star of forty-eight rays surmounted by a royal crown. On the centre, within a red-enamelled band, is a light blue medallion on which in relief are the arms of the kingdom in gold; at the bottom are two vases, one above the other, surmounted by a Cambodian royal crown of seven tiers. On these are superimposed the sacred swords of *Phra-Khan*, believed to have been given originally by Indra, the god of the air, to an early king of Cambodia. Flames are in the field.

The reverse of the star is plain. The ribbon is red, edged with green, when the order is conferred by the Cambodian government, and with this ribbon a French citizen can wear the decoration in Cambodia only. When the order is conferred by the French authorities the ribbon is white, edged with orange; this change was effected by a decree of December 5, 1899.

Plate XXVI.

MEDAL OF THE ROYAL ORDER OF CAMBODIA. This is issued in gold, silver and bronze and awarded for services not warranting the Royal Order. It is 32 mm. in diameter, having on the obverse, within an oak and laurel wreath, *NORODOM IER. ROI DU CAMBODGE*, with sun rays above and below. On the reverse centre

is the mantled Arms of the kingdom, around which is * *SOMDACH PREA NORODOM PREA CHAU CRUNG* * *CAMPUCHEA* *. The medal is surmounted by a crown. The ribbon has three equal stripes of red, yellow and light blue. This medal is often called the Military Medal of Norodom I.

MEDAL OF SISOWATH was founded in 1904 when Sisowath became King of Cambodia, upon the death of his brother, Norodom I. It is 32 mm. in diameter, and surmounted by a Cambodian royal crown. On the obverse, within an oak and laurel wreath, is *SISOWATH IER. ROI DU CAMBODGE*, with rays above and below. On the reverse is the arms of the kingdom and the title of the king in native characters. The ribbon is of three equal stripes, red, yellow and purple. It is awarded to the military, as well as to civilians, for services to the kingdom.

Plate XXVII.

The *MONI-SERPAHON*, or *Palmes of Cambodia*, was founded by King Sisowath in July, 1906, as a reward to teachers, artists and authors. It is modelled after the French *Palmes Universitaires*. The decoration consists of silver-gilt palm and laurel branches—in the centre is an urn with flowers and a knot of ribbon. Obverse and reverse are the same. The ribbon is bright yellow.

Plate XXVII.



Medal of Sisowath



Moni Serpahon

CAMBODIA



CAMBODIA

The Sowathara

The *SOWATHARA*, or ORDER OF AGRICULTURAL MERIT, was created June 18, 1923, by royal ordinance, and approved by a decree of the Résident-Supérieur of France, of July 3, 1923. It is to reward and honour agriculturalists of Cambodia and had three classes, Commander, Officer and Chevalier. The decoration is a four-armed cross, each arm composed of five rays, in the angles of which are bunches of wheat, cotton, palm and rice paddy. In the green-enamelled medallion is a gold representation of the three-towered temple of Angkor—the ancient capital of the country—surrounded by a gold circle. The cross is surmounted by a figure of the native earth-goddess, and is suspended by a green ribbon.

Plate XXVIII.

The temple of Angkor-Vat was built in the city of Angkor-Thom (Angkor the Great) by the Khmers, who came to this region from Burma and the Northeast, early in the Christian era. Apparently they were in the fullness of their power from the tenth to the twelfth centuries, and were supplanted in the fifteenth century.

LAOS

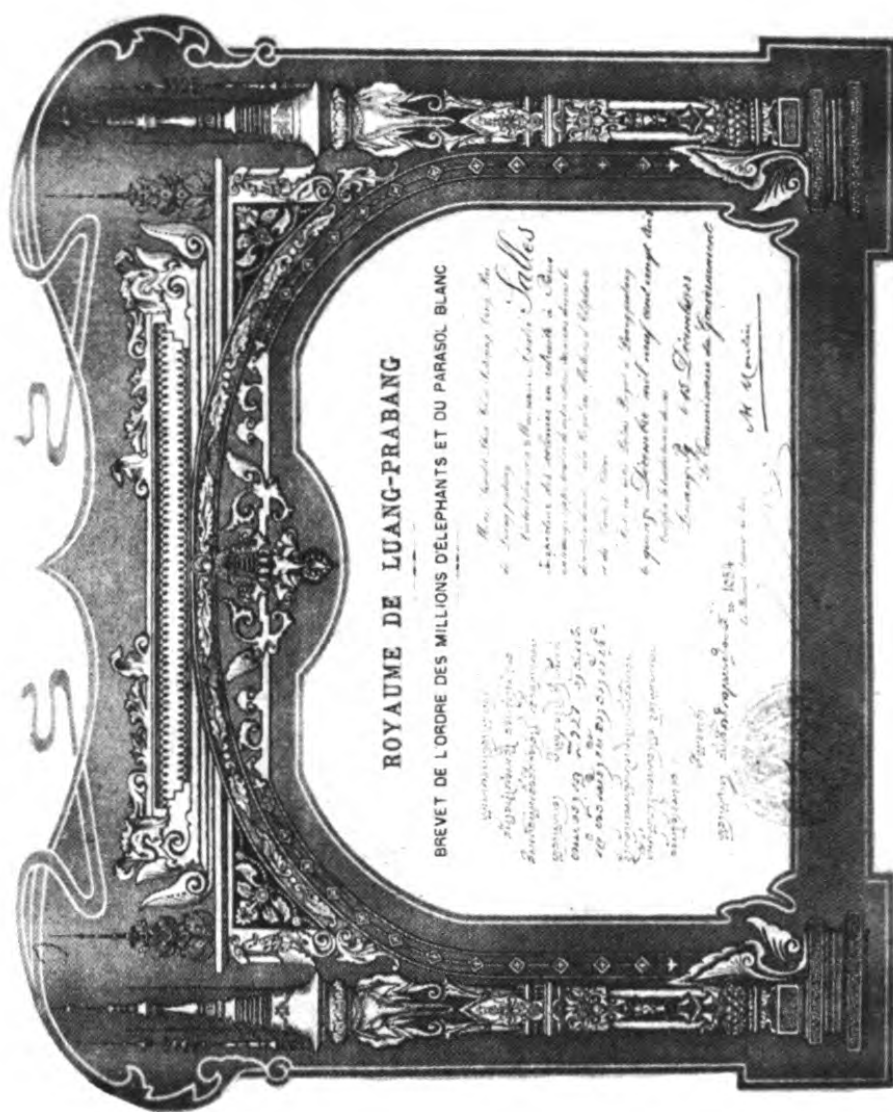
Part of Laos is in Siam and part in French Indo-China. The latter was largely ceded by Siam to France in 1893. The region west of Annam and North and Northeast of Siam has been a protectorate since that date. The country is inhabited by semi-civilized tribes and a mixed population from the surrounding regions. Viengchan (Vientaine) became the French capital of Laos, while the principal native city is Luang-Prabang (Kingdom of the Divine Buddha), in the province of the same name. Here resides *Somdet Phra Chao Sisavang Vong*, not only the King of Luang-Prabang, but in the native phrase—*Master of Heaven and Life*.

THE ORDER OF A MILLION ELEPHANTS or THE WHITE PARASOL. For eight years or more this order has been awarded to natives and foreigners by the King of Luang-Prabang, though no information is available as to who created it, the date, or the reason for its award. The decoration is composed of three white-enamelled heads of elephants, below which is a peacock's spread tail, and above are four oval shields and a royal native crown. Surmounting this on a scroll inscribed with native characters is the name of the order. The ribbon is bright red with two narrow gold stripes and an angular scroll design on each side. Plate XXIX.



LAOS

Order of a Million Elephants



When honoured with the Order of the Million Elephants and the White Parasol, the brevet only is given; the recipient is required to purchase the insignia. Plate XXX.

TONG-KING

This northernmost section of French Indo-China, North and Northeast of Laos and Annam, became a French protectorate by treaty of June, 1885. The French have been established in certain coastal sections of the region since 1862. There are no local rulers of Tong-king, hence there are no native decorations or medals issued, except the Military Medal described under Annam.

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